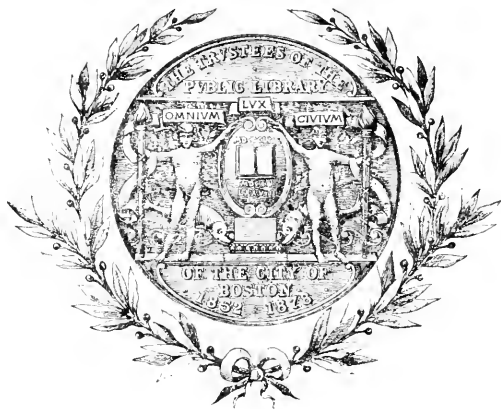


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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES
IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII—PART 4
(Testimony of Jack H. Kawano)

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

—
JULY 6, 1951
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII—PART 4

TESTIMONY OF JACK H. KAWANO

(NOTE.—The earlier testimony of Jack H. Kawano, to which reference is made herein, was taken by a Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities on April 19, 1950, and appears in hearings regarding Communist activities in the Territory of Hawaii—pt. 3, pp. 2055–2057.)

FRIDAY, JULY 6, 1951

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
EXECUTIVE SESSION

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, Clyde Doyle, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Courtney E. Owens, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; and Raphael I. Nixon, director of research.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will come to order.

For the purposes of this hearing, the chairman of the committee has designated a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Moulder, Doyle, Velde, and Walter, all of whom are present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the hearing this morning is in the nature of a continuance of the Hawaii hearings, and due to the circumstances we feel it should be an executive session, and the committee has so determined.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Kawano, will you stand and hold up your right hand, please. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KAWANO. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JACK H. KAWANO

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. KAWANO. My name is Jack H. Kawano.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Kawano?

Mr. KAWANO. I was born at Puna, T. H., on February 27, 1911.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived substantially all your life in the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. All of my life, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational training, Mr. Kawano?

Mr. KAWANO. I went up to the seventh grade.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee what your employment record has been; that is, how you have been employed since the time you attained your majority?

Mr. KAWANO. I was first employed by the Hakalau sugar plantation, then I moved to the Taketa Transportation, then the Hawaiian Pineapple Co. at Lanai, as a truck driver.

Then I moved to Honolulu, and in Honolulu I worked as a truck driver for Mr. Himuro, Mr. Fukamachi, and Mr. Amii, as a truck driver.

In early 1934 I started working on the water front as a longshoreman for Matson Navigation Co., and then for Honolulu Stevedores, and for Castle & Cooke Terminals, Ltd.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other employment beside that; that is, were you employed by a union as a full-time employee?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. I started working for the union during the summer of 1937 without pay, and I continued working for the same union until the end of 1949. After we first got organized in 1941, the union decided to pay me, and I started out on the union payroll in 1941 until the end of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. What union was that?

Mr. KAWANO. I started first with the Honolulu Longshoremen's Association, and later on when it was affiliated with the ILWU on the west coast and changed affiliation from AFL to CIO, I worked for the ILWU-CIO. That was the end of 1937 or 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kawano, you appeared as a witness before the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities sent to Hawaii in April 1950, and at that time you answered the question as to whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. KAWANO. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you testified that you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you refused to answer any and all other questions relating to past affiliations with the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were then cited by the House of Representatives for contempt for your refusal to answer those questions?

Mr. KAWANO. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were prosecuted and tried in the Federal courts of the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were acquitted?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have now been subpoenaed to appear again before this committee. That is correct, is it?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you willing now to cooperate with the committee and tell the committee all you know about Communist activities in the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct. In fact, I asked for this opportunity to be heard. I think it is proper for me to here say that even at the time I testified in 1950, I wanted to testify, but because of some reasons I decided not to go ahead with it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why is it that you refused to testify when you were called before the subcommittee in session in Hawaii, and that you are now willing to testify?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, there have been many reasons, but the major reasons why I refused to testify at that time I think could be illustrated fairly well in that letter I sent to the ILWU convention that was held early this year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you referring to the letter of April 5, 1951, addressed to the convention delegates to the ILWU convention?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that convention held?

Mr. KAWANO. It was held in Honolulu.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you an alleged copy of the letter and ask if it is the letter you refer to?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. This is a true copy of the letter I sent to the convention delegates.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read the letter into the record. [Reading:]

HONOLULU, T. H., April 5, 1951.

To Convention Delegates,

Ninth Biennial ILWU Convention,

Honolulu, T. H.:

DEAR FRIENDS: Allow me to take this opportunity to extend my "Aloha" to you convention delegates. I sincerely hope that your convention will be successful, and will result in further strengthening the ILWU.

I believe one of the problems facing this convention is to clarify the policy of the ILWU with regard to the right of the individual to testify or not to testify before Un-American Activity Committees.

I wanted to testify at the last hearing, but I was advised by the officers of the ILWU including its attorney not to testify, so I followed their advice and did not testify before the Un-American Activities Committee hearing.

Later I realized that I made a mistake. My thinking here is based on two points:

1. In view of the world situation, where our country is at war with communist forces in Korea, I cannot see myself assisting Communists or communism in any way, particularly when you consider them to be enemies of our country. Therefore, I feel I owe it to my country to bring to light all I know about Communist activities in Hawaii.

2. While I participated as a Communist in the ILWU, predetermining its policies from time to time, I realized that each time I engaged in such activities, I was undermining, and violating the policies and principles set forth in the constitution of the ILWU as clarified by resolution No. 11 adopted on January 27, 1951, attached to the resolution on Red-baiting, entitled "Statement of Principles Adopted at the Territorial Sugar Unity Conference Held in Hilo, Hawaii, January 3, 4, 5, 1948." The third paragraph of the statement reads as follows:

"The ILWU is governed by the principles and policies formulated through the democratic machinery of the union. No political party, Communist, Republican, Democratic, or other, and no racial or religious group, shall determine our policies."

Around the latter part of July, or early August 1950, when the Un-American Activities Committee investigator came back to Hawaii, I wanted to testify in order to clear myself, both with my country and also with the union. I told regional director Jack Hall of my opinion and intentions.

However, he made it very clear to me that if I testified I would be regarded as a union breaker, also that I would be regarded as a rat by the entire membership of the ILWU and that my name would be mud from that time on.

I told him that by testifying I would be helping the union because through it I would be able to bring to the attention of the ILWU those that are predetermining policy of the union and that therefore are violating the principles and policies of the ILWU as set forth in its constitution. Therefore I considered it my duty to bring this to the attention of the union. Hall insisted that that was ratting. I disagreed with him and gave the following example as an argument. "If my union is out on strike, and I knew of some of the members scabbing on our strike, I certainly would consider it my duty to bring this to the attention of the striking membership, and by doing that I do not consider myself a rat. On the contrary, I would consider myself a good union member by bringing it to the attention of the union. And the same thing goes when someone or a group of individuals is violating the constitution of the union."

I had similar conversations not only with Hall, but also with McElrath and Arena. But they all ended up the same way, "You will break the union, we will call you a rat in the ILWU, and your name will be mud."

So that time again I did not testify.

At that same time Hall offered me a job with the ILWU. I told him that I would gladly accept the job provided he agreed to allow me two privileges:

1. That I be allowed to testify.
2. That I don't have to take dictation from the Communist Party.

The offer was withdrawn promptly.

As time went on I became more and more convinced that I did wrong by not testifying, and so on February 10, 1951, I made my position clear to the membership of the Union and to the public. A copy of that statement is attached herewith.

And that was a press release, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to introduce that press release in evidence upon the completion of the reading of this letter. [Continuing reading:]

Although I am not a member of the ILWU at this time, I am still a union man at heart. Any man who gives 15 of his best years to the labor movement, 7 of which spent organizing without compensation while being unemployed, cannot simply wipe off his memories and union habits and sentiments overnight.

Therefore, I am very much interested in the policy of the ILWU.

There is no question that the ILWU's policy is to support those witnesses who refused to testify at the hearing.

Is it also the policy of the ILWU to guarantee to its members the right to testify at any such hearings if that happens to be their convictions?

For the benefit of the membership of the union, and in order to further strengthen the ILWU, I feel it is important for the policy of the ILWU to be clarified not only for the benefit of the Communists, who I believe have a right to belong to the union as long as they do not violate the constitution of the union, but also for the individuals who disagree with communism, know its operation in the ILWU, where they are predetermining policies for the ILWU, and want to bring this to the attention of the membership, but cannot do this because the policy of the ILWU does not seem to support them in their position, and because the officers of the union particularly discourage it.

Therefore, I strongly urge that the ILWU convention go on record guaranteeing the right of the individuals to follow their convictions, be it refusing or not refusing to testify before any committee, governmental or union, which has authority to investigate communism.

Faternally yours,

JACK H. KAWANO.

I desire now to offer in evidence the news release referred to in the body of the letter which I have just read, and ask that it be marked "Kawano exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WALTER. Mark it and let it be received.

(The news release above referred to, marked "Kawano exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence, is as follows:)

[News release, February 10, 1951]

(By: Jack Kawano, former President of ILWU Local 137)

All during the latter part of 1949 and in 1950, and even up to the present time, I have been approached on many occasions by members of the ILWU and asked the following questions:

1. Are you an organizer for the CIO?
2. Are you a Communist?
3. Have you ever been a Communist?

These questions have been constantly on my mind because, as many of the ILWU members know, I pioneered the organization of the Waterfront Union which, in turn, sparked the organizational drive among workers in the sugar industry, which became the backbone of the ILWU in Hawaii. Because of this I knew that some day I should publicly answer these questions.

Now that the contempt case against me is cleared, I feel I am able to make my personal position clear to all those who may be interested, without fear of intimidation or coercion from any source.

I wish all to know that I am not an organizer for the CIO.

My position is that in the event anyone tried to split the ILWU by raids or otherwise I would help in whatever way I could to maintain unity within the membership of the ILWU.

I am not a Communist. However, I was a member of the Communist Party. I joined the Communist Party because some individual Communists were willing to assist me in organizing the Waterfront Union. The water-front employers were totally intolerant of labor unions. They did all they could to smash all attempts to organize the water front. No civic or community organizations showed any signs of willingness to assist in our organizing efforts. I did not think it was harmful to the union as long as the Communists were willing to assist me in bringing up the living standards of the workingman because they led me to believe that the basic existence of the Communist Party was primarily to promote the best interests of the workingman.

I decided to quit the Communist Party because I found that the primary existence of the Communist Party was not for the best interests of the workingman but to dupe the members of the union, to control the union, and to use the union for purposes other than strictly trade-union matters.

The Communists play rings around the rank and file members of the union and their union's constitutions, by meeting separately and secretly among themselves and making prior decisions on all important union policy matters, such as the question of strikes, election of officers, ratification of union agreements, the question of American foreign policy, and all other important matters of the Union.

Primarily all of these decisions are made on the basis of what is good for the Communist Party and not what is good for the membership of the union.

For instance, in the election of officers of the sugar local in 1946, the Communist Party met and made their decision, which was to get their candidate elected at all cost. As a result of this decision, I was informed that the Communists stuffed the ballot box on behalf of their candidate.

Another instance was the proposed sugar strike of 1949 at the time when the longshore strike was on. The Communist Party had met and made a decision to pull the workers in the sugar industry out on strike. Had they been able to call out the sugar workers on strike at that time, when the longshoremen were having a life-and-death struggle in their strike against the water-front employers, the strike for both the longshoreman and the sugar workers would have been smashed.

There is no real local autonomy as long as the rank-and-file members allow the Communist Party, through the few Communists in their union, to predetermine all important matters on union policy and dominate their union.

Today I am more than ever convinced that I did right by quitting the Communist Party, for in view of the international situation, when our boys are giving their lives to their country which is at war with Communist Korea and China, I cannot help but believe that anyone who is a Communist and is willing to assist Communist Korea, China, or any other Communist nation today is dangerously flirting with treason against his own country.

For the sake of the union, I call on you to check on what I have said. It is your duty to investigate, to ask pointed questions to get information. When you have done so, you will find the destructive effects of communism within the union. I strongly urge the rank-and-file members of the ILWU, every one of them, to fight to keep the control and the management of their union and union activities in

the hands of the rank-and-file members. To accomplish this important task, all Communists and those who follow the Communist line should be rejected by the rank-and-file membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kawano, what disposition was made of this letter which you delivered to the convention of the ILWU?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, from what I understand—I was not a delegate so I was not present—but from what I understand, getting some news from the newspapers and from some of the delegates that attended that convention, I understand that Bridges did not read that letter to the delegates of the convention, but instead notified the delegates of the convention that he got a letter from me. He did not expose the contents of the letter, but stated that that letter was not worth reading and wasting the convention's time because it was sent to the convention by a man he called "rat" and "traitor to the working class" and so on. He threw it in the wastebasket; and the convention, I believe, supported his position.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said that the letter was delivered to the convention by a person to whom he referred as "rat"?

Mr. KAWANO. No. Bridges said that letter was sent to the convention by a person whom he considered a rat and a traitor to the working class.

Mr. TAVENNER. Referring to the writer of the letter, yourself?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the Bridges to whom you referred Harry Bridges?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you well acquainted with Harry Bridges?

Mr. KAWANO. I have known him for several years.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph and ask you whose it is?

Mr. KAWANO. It is a photograph of Harry Bridges, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you obtain possession of it?

Mr. KAWANO. This I got from him sometime in September 1945 on my way home from attending a board meeting in Washington, D. C. Exactly where he gave this to me, I don't remember. It might have been in Washington or in San Francisco, but I take it as an acknowledgment on his part recognizing the part I did in organizing the labor movement in the Territory.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there a note in his own handwriting on the photograph?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. It states on the left-hand side, "To Kawano, who pioneered in leading a great movement. Harry Bridges, September 1945."

Mr. TAVENNER. What was Bridges' connection with the ILWU at the time that he presented his photograph to you?

Mr. KAWANO. His position at that time was president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and I think also regional director for Northern California CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was his position at the time of the convention that was held in April 1951 in Honolulu?

Mr. KAWANO. President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, independent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kawano, you stated that in early 1934 you started working on the water front as a longshoreman for Matson Navigation Co.

Mr. KAWANO. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wish you would begin at that point and tell the committee in your own way and in your own words what you know about Communist activities in the Territory of Hawaii, and during the course of your statement I will probably interrupt you a number of times and ask you questions more in detail.

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. I think, though, in order to give you a clear picture of the beginning of communism as I remember it on the islands, I feel it necessary to go back a few years and start from the time I started working on the water front, the conditions that existed, and so on; so, if you don't mind, I would like to do that.

Mr. TAVENNER. That will be satisfactory.

Mr. KAWANO. In 1934, on the water front, when I was first employed there, there was no union; and in order for one to get a job and be able to hold on to it, it was almost an impossibility unless he brought gifts and bribes to his foreman. Discrimination, favoritism, no job security, low wages, speed-ups, dangerous working conditions were all part of a daily routine. The workers' need for a union was so great that it was not funny.

In October 1935, when the West Coast Firemen's Union opened a hiring hall in Honolulu, and later when the same hiring hall was shared by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, the officers of both the Firemen's Union and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific paid for and reserved a small space in the same hiring hall for an organizing committee. This organizing committee was headed by Maxie Weisbarth, who was then agent for the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, and Harry Kealoha, a member of the Marine Fireman, Oilers, and Water Tenders Union at that time.

The first organizing drive among longshoremen was launched by Weisbarth and Kealoha, aided by others like Charlie Post, and so forth. However, I did not join the union at that time because they did not permit workers of oriental descent to become members of that organization.

I joined the Longshoremen's Association of Honolulu in November 1935, when the organizers changed their policy and made it possible for workers of oriental extraction to become members of the union.

Several organizational meetings were called, and they were fairly well attended. However, their efforts in organizing was defeated when the water-front employers offered Thanksgiving turkey to the workers on Christmas, and the workers were told that the turkey was a present to them from the company, and if they did not listen to the radical agitators from Sailors' Hall they would be getting better things from the company in the future.

I was one of the few who ignored the company's advice, and continued my membership in the union until I got fired in 1936. I was not fired long before I talked my way back on the job. When I was reemployed, I got fired again because the company found that I did not quit the union. This time I was fired until the end of the 1936-37 Pacific coast maritime strike, which ended in February 1937.

At the end of that strike, with the aid of some members of the sailors' union and the firemen's union, I managed to get my job on the water front back again.

So I went back to work on the water front in early February 1937. However, because I could not get transferred to my former sugar gang, I left the water-front job in July 1937 to work full time as a water-front organizer for the union without pay.

Organizing in those days was very difficult. I used to talk to workers on their way to and from work; visited them at their homes and talked to them; signed up and collected dues from some of them; but because we were not able to show any encouraging results, these people gradually dropped out of the union.

I used to borrow Willie Crozier's p. a. system to organize mass meetings along the water front in the mornings.

MR. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "p. a. system?"

MR. KAWANO. Public-address system. I used to make leaflets and distribute them among workers on the water front in the mornings and afternoons.

But because the employers had organized a company union, sports clubs, and so forth, to divert the attention of the workers elsewhere, and because they used the leaders of this company union to discriminate and threaten organizers and members of the union, and because through their company union they raised the wages from 40 to 50 cents during the 1936-37 strike, we were never able to get the majority of the employees into the union at any one time during those days.

This situation continued from 1935 on until we finally got organized and won our first agreement on the water front in the spring of 1941.

There were many enthusiastic organizers in the beginning, but as time went on, and no organizational results showed, these organizers and union leaders gradually dropped out of existence. Some of these organizers and leaders were Maxie Weisbarth, Harry Kealoha, Edward Berman, Levi Kealoha, Jack Hall, to mention a few. However, Frederick Kamahoahoa and I kept plugging until we finally organized the water front with the aid of some of the more active union men on the water front.

Some of the more active union men who played an important part in assisting us organize the water front were Takeshi Yamanehi, Chujiro Hokama, Kana Shimiabakuro, Naoji Yokoyama, Kiheji Nishi, Daniel Machado, Jr., Francis Perkins, Ben Kahaawinui, Lefty Chang, William Halm, William Piiiani, John Akiu, Solomon Niheu, and a few others.

While we were organizing, there was a strike of sugar workers on the Puunene plantation in 1937. The strike lasted for 2 to 3 months. When the strike began, Maxie Weisbarth sent a man by the name of Ben Shear from Honolulu to assist the sugar workers in their strike and to help them along. The idea was to try to get them to join the HLA, Honolulu Longshoremen's Association.

These plantation strikers and their leaders seemed to be very interested, but because we were not able to give them any substantial financial assistance the strikers decided to stay independent from HLA and did not affiliate themselves with HLA, Honolulu Longshoremen's Association.

Just about the same time the longshoremen in Port Allen, Kauai, went on strike. They demanded recognition of their union, adjustment of grievances, and better wages.

Ben Shear, who was at that time in Maui, was pulled out from Maui, and he, together with George Goto, was assigned to go to Kauai and assist the strikers in Kauai. Ben Shear and George Goto did a great deal in building up the strength of the longshore union in Port Allen and in Ahukini.

Meanwhile, Bill Bailey, a Communist, was sent from Honolulu to Maui, to assist the strikers there. He stayed with the strikers until the strike was finally settled without any written agreement, and as a result of that the Plantation Union was broken after the end of the strike.

Now comes my first Communist meeting. The first Communist meeting that I attended was held, I believe, in the room on Emma Street near Beretania Street occupied by William Bailey.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there. Will you tell the committee all you know about William Bailey?

Mr. KAWANO. I do not know very much about William Bailey, but he was the first man that I recall as a Communist. I saw him when he came to Honolulu. I saw him when he was assigned to assist the plantation strikers on the Island of Maui, and I saw him when he came back from Maui. It was when he came back from Maui that I saw him in his room on Emma Street, where several people came. Most of the people in that room were seamen. Some were members of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and some were members of the Marine Firemen's Union. Bailey was a member of the Marine Firemen's Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had Bailey been in the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. At the time I met him in this meeting, he was in the Territory from 2 to 3 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what part of the United States Bailey came from?

Mr. KAWANO. I understood he came from the west coast, but he was previously from the east coast, Brooklyn, N. Y., I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. As I understood it, you met in the rooms occupied by William Bailey as your first introduction into the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us how you happened to go there and what occurred?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, I was escorted to this meeting by Edward Berman, who was at that time a nominal organizational head of the union in Honolulu. At this meeting, Bailey gave a lecture that lasted anywhere from 45 minutes to an hour. He issued us membership cards in the 'Travelers' Club, otherwise known as a Communist card. He told us that as long as we carried that card we would be respected by all good union men from the mainland, and we could count on Harry Bridges to help us. He also asked us to volunteer in the Spanish Loyalist Army, but no one volunteered.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that Edward Berman took you to that meeting. Had he talked to you about the Communist Party at any time prior to that meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. He did not. All he did was tell me to come along with him, that it was going to be a very important meeting and he wanted me to be there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had any of the other persons present at that meeting talked to you about the Communist Party before that evening?

Mr. KAWANO. Nobody did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say that you were given a membership card in the Travelers' Club?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain what that club was?

Mr. KAWANO. From what I understand, that was a membership book signifying that you are a member of the Communist Party. I understood there is a slight difference between those people who carry a Communist Party book offshore and inshore. In this case it was an offshore group, and it was impossible for them to belong to one unit, because seamen travel all over the country, so to make them eligible to attend meetings wherever they go, in every port, they have one unified card system, and I think that was supposed to be this Travelers' card system. A man carrying a Travelers' card from New York would be eligible to attend a meeting in Honolulu, and vice versa.

Mr. MOULDER. That is, a Communist meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that entitle you to attend meetings in ports other than the United States, such as Canada and Mexico?

Mr. KAWANO. It did not say. The card definitely stated "Travelers' card," and did not say whether it had privileges outside of the United States or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. But it did constitute membership in and assignment to a group of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. KAWANO. To the water-front section, yes.

Incidentally, another thing about this fellow Bailey, I think it was in 1937 or 1938 when there was a German ship in New York Harbor—I think the name of the ship was the *Bremen*—you remember some people going aboard at night and yanking down the German flag, some kind of demonstration in New York Harbor; this fellow Bailey was one of those. There were three or four who participated in that demonstration.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that Bailey gave a lecture of 45 minutes to an hour. Can you recall at this time anything that he told you?

Mr. KAWANO. It is really hard for me to recall, but roughly, the general trend of thought was like this—that the bosses are no good; that workers can live without the bosses, and we should try to get rid of the bosses by forming an organization and fighting the bosses, first through the union and later through the revolution, or something like that.

Mr. WALTER. It would interest you to know that recently a young Chinaman testified before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, and told exactly the same story in relating what occurred in China when the Communists moved in. Then when the Communists came into power, the owners of this small factory where he worked were murdered. So you can see that what you were told about the bosses being bad is a part of the general line that the Communists employ.

Mr. KAWANO. For instance, he explained that what is going on in Madrid, Spain, today is a fine example; that is was a government constituted by the people of Spain, but they were being resisted by a

bunch of capitalists. And he said a fight for the Loyalist government in Spain was a fight for the working class. He finally asked if anyone in the group wanted to volunteer in the Spanish Loyalist Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it appears that William Bailey was recruiting both for the Communist Party and for volunteers for the war in Spain?

Mr. KAWANO. That is true. I think everybody signed up in the Communist Party through the Travelers' Club who attended that meeting, but nobody volunteered for Loyalist Spain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the names of any other persons who signed up in the Communist Party at that meeting other than yourself?

Mr. KAWANO. Edward Berman. James Cooley was there, a member of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. William Bailey was there. I believe Paul Kalina, a member of the sailors' union, was there at that time. And I think Benjamin Kahaawinui was there. Those are all the names I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your explanation of the situation confronting the union organizers at the time that you joined the Communist Party, you mentioned the names of a number of people. I would like to ask you if you found out at any later time whether or not any of those people were members of the Communist Party. For instance, you mentioned Maxie Weisbarth.

Mr. KAWANO. Maxie Weisbarth, to my knowledge, was never a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Harry Kealoha.

Mr. KAWANO. He was never to my knowledge a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Charles Post.

Mr. KAWANO. To my knowledge he was never a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Levi Kealoha.

Mr. KAWANO. Levi Kealoha; yes, sir, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. You found later that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jack Hall.

Mr. KAWANO. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Takeshi Yamanchi.

Mr. KAWANO. He was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Chujiro Hokama.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Kana Shimiabakuro.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Naoji Yokoyama.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Kibeji Nishi.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Daniel Machado, Jr.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Francis Perkins.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ben Kahaawinui.

Mr. KAWANO. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lefty Chang.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. William Halm.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. William Piilani.

Mr. KAWANO. He was. Incidentally, that William Piilani is the William Kamaka who testified before you.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Akiu.

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Solomon Niheu.

Mr. KAWANO. I don't recall. This boy had been with us in the early stages, but about 1941 or 1940 he had been shifted over to the Island of Molokai because he contracted leprosy. Today he is in that leprosy settlement. Personally I would say he was never a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ben Shear.

Mr. KAWANO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that Ed Berman brought you to this meeting.

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever talk to him on any other occasion regarding the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. He was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. How long had he lived in Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. I think he lived there from about 1935 until about the end of 1939. Then he left the islands in the latter part of 1939 or early 1940 and came back around the middle of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jack Kimoto is another witness subpoenaed before the subcommittee that met in Hawaii. Were you acquainted with him?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee how and when you first became acquainted with Jack Kimoto.

Mr. KAWANO. I first knew him when he was introduced to me by George Goto. Goto told me that Kimoto was a very good interpreter of the Japanese-English language, and could help me a great deal in my union work as far as propagandizing among the Japanese was concerned.

He, together with George Goto, spent close to a year writing all sorts of leaflets for me to be distributed among the Japanese alien longshoremen on the water front. However, because of their strong tendency to insert Communist ideas into the leaflets, their organizational propaganda was rejected by the alien Japanese on the water front, and it did us more harm than good. Later the writing of Japanese leaflets to be distributed among alien Japanese was done almost exclusively by Mr. Takeshi Yamanchi. His ideas were accepted by the Japanese aliens, and later his leaflets played a major part in organizing the men on the water front.

In early 1938 we decided——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Did you know that Kimoto was a member of the Communist Party at the time that you were introduced to him by George Goto?

Mr. KAWANO. Not at that particular time, but Kimoto as a matter of fact introduced himself, after the first introduction by Goto, that he was sent here from the mainland as a party organizer, and it was his duty to see that the party people got together and started forming organizations in the Territory, and that it was his responsibility to see to it that those cells were organized.

Mr. MOULDER. When you refer to party you mean Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had Kimoto been in the Territory of Hawaii before he told you this?

Mr. KAWANO. Not very long. From what I understand, he came back to the islands in 1938, and it may have been 1 or 2 or 3 weeks after he came back that he told me that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything more about Kimoto's activities at that time?

Mr. KAWANO. Not very much.

Mr. TAVENNER. If he was an organizer, what did he do as organizer of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. I think at that time, around the year 1938 and after that, he was most instrumental, I guess, in bringing about the formation of a group of these people who carried so-called 'Travelers' cards. Somehow he had information as to who were the people who carried Travelers' cards. He got in touch with them, one by one, and was later able to form a group, mainly of water-front people, but with a few outsiders.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that his purpose in getting in touch with you?

Mr. KAWANO. I think his main purpose was that, and was to assist me in organizing the water front.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean organizing the union, or organizing the party?

Mr. KAWANO. In this case organizing the union, but Kimoto's intention, maybe, was that while assisting me in organizing the union he would be able to get in touch with a lot of other people whom he might pass his judgment on as good prospective recruits. That may have been the basic reason why he worked with me so close.

Mr. TAVENNER. George Goto, do you know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. He was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, if you will proceed.

Mr. KAWANO. In early 1938 we decided to organize the sailors and longshoremen. This was because many seamen and longshoremen expressed their willingness to become members of the union. So we decided to organize the longshoremen into the ILWU and the seamen into the IBU; that is, the longshoremen into the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the seamen into the Inland Boatmen's Union.

Berman and Hall led the organizing drives among the sailors, and we took over the organizational work among the longshoremen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Hall the same person as Jack Hall?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct, sir.

We got them organized in a few weeks, and started negotiations with the employers for recognition of our union. However, we did not reach first base, and therefore we pulled the seamen and long-

shoremen out on a joint strike in the summer of 1938. It was supposed to be a joint strike between the IBU and the ILWU, and the verbal understanding between the two unions was: "(1) We will strike together; (2) we will settle the strike together; and (3) no one, IBU or ILWU, will go back to work until both unions have negotiated a satisfactory settlement with the employers."

After 3 months of striking and particularly after the Hilo massacre, where my good friend Bert Nakano was shot up and crippled for life, some of the seamen lost interest in the strike and started to individually make contacts with the employers and started a back-to-work movement.

Berman and some of the IBU leaders knew this, so they negotiated a fast settlement for the members of the IBU, while we who were leading the strike of the longshoremen wanted to continue our strike a little longer.

One day after negotiations with the employers, when we came back to the union hall, to our disappointment we found that the members of the IBU had already met and voted to go back to work, and they were already issuing strike clearances to their members.

We raised hell, and pleaded with them to hang on a little while longer until we completed negotiations with our employers. We asked them to live up to our original agreement when we first decided to go out on strike, that "No one, IBU or ILWU, will go back to work until both unions have negotiated a satisfactory settlement with the employers."

But it did not do us any good. Berman told us at that time that the boys could not stay another minute longer on strike, and if they stayed their union would be busted; and that furthermore, the IBU were the majority of the strikers, and therefore they had the right to vote us down in the joint strike meeting.

There was nothing else for us to do but get in touch with the employers and settle for whatever they were willing to offer, and we settled that strike on that basis. Our strike was completely lost. Within 3 months after the strike we lost the longshore union, and the IBU also went out of existence.

All during these days we were attending Communist meetings in different parts of town. We often met at the office of the Voice of Labor; at Bartlett's home in Manoa; at Kakaako, where Hall and Imori used to occupy the same house; and once or twice in Kuliouou Beach, at the home of a friend of Bartlett's.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was the period from the time when you first joined the Communist Party up to 1939, of which you are speaking?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time, did you hold any official position in the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. During that time I was, I think, chairman of the water-front section. There were only two groups, one the uptown group, and the other the downtown group. The uptown group was for professional people, and the downtown group was for longshoremen and so forth. I was chairman of the longshoremen group, or downtown group.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was 1939?

Mr. KAWANO. That was 1938 and also 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us some idea as to the membership of the downtown group of the Communist Party, of which you were the chairman, at that time, 1939?

Mr. KAWANO. Not very many; I think about 7 or 8, but always 10 to 15 attended. The additional ones above the 7 or 8 were by including people like Jack Hall, whom I did not consider a longshoreman; Imori, whom I did not consider a longshoreman; James Cooley, whom I did not consider a longshoreman; and John Reinecke, Dr. John Reinecke, whom I did not consider a longshoreman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Dr. John Reinecke a member of the downtown group?

Mr. KAWANO. No. He was a member of the uptown group, but he often would come sit in on the downtown group meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any of the other members of the downtown group at that time?

Mr. KAWANO. I can't recall all, but I will try.

Myself first. Frederick Kamahoahea; John Elias, Jr.; William Kamaka; Ben Kahaawinui. There might have been two or three others, but I can't recall. They were not too active and did not continue long enough, so I can't recall them. But these were active right on through.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the principal activity of this Communist Party group up until 1939?

Mr. KAWANO. Until 1939, and even until a later date, when the longshoremen group met and they were not attended by outsiders like Hall, Reinecke, and people like that, when the longshoremen alone met, the subject they talked about was how to organize, how to handle grievances, whom to recruit in the union, strictly trade-union subjects.

Mr. TAVENNER. What group are you speaking of when you say the ILWU group; do you mean the union members or the Communists who were members of the ILWU?

Mr. KAWANO. I am talking about Communist meetings where only members of the ILWU met, not including those outsiders. When they met the subjects they talked about were trade-union problems.

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned that you often met at the office of the Voice of Labor.

Mr. KAWANO. That is so.

Mr. VELDE. What was the Voice of Labor. Was that a newspaper?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes, the Voice of Labor was a newspaper, supposed to be, on the surface, an independent newspaper, very strongly pro-labor. It professed to be the only paper that spoke in behalf of the working people, but it was not supported by workmen but was organized and instigated by Communists. At that time I think Edward Berman, Jack Hall, and James Cooley were the three organizers, and Corby Paxton—he was editor of the National Maritime Union Pilot sometime back, a tall, skinny fellow—he was also one of the organizers of Voice of Labor.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were referring to Communist Party meetings of members of the Communist Party who were also members of the ILWU, you spoke of outsiders. By outsiders you meant members of other groups or cells of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. I meant members of the uptown group, and also members of our group we did not consider close to us because they were not longshoremen.

Mr. TAVENNER. But they were all members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. WALTER. Did Hall ever work as a longshoreman?

Mr. KAWANO. Never did.

Mr. WALTER. Then his entire activity there was political?

Mr. KAWANO. I understand he made two or three trips as a member of the sailors' union, and was in the strike of 1936-37, and after the strike he did not care to go back as a seaman.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was asking about the activities of the Communist Party group up to 1939, and you were telling us about the discussion of trade-union problems at your Communist Party meetings. Were there any particular or specific matters in which the Communist Party took a leading part and influenced the union at that time in carrying out any particular project?

Mr. KAWANO. Not that I can remember. During those days their policy to me was not too clear, except I had the feeling they were mainly interested in helping labor unions get organized, and they were doing their best to assist people to form unions. As far as their policy was concerned, what it was I don't know. Maybe they were concentrating more in educating people, because when these outsiders came to our meetings, the subjects they brought up were not too interesting. They used to bring up things like economics, and things like that that the workingmen usually don't care for, educational things. They wanted us to do a lot of reading, and things like that. The fellows who wanted us to read were Kimoto and Ed Berman and to some extent Jack Hall. Sometimes they used to send guys like Reinecke and Francis Bartlett to our group to give lectures, and after the lectures to sell us books on communism.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Proceed.

Mr. KAWANO. I remember one of the topics discussed at Kakaako, at the home shared by Jack Hall and Imori, was regarding the picketing of ships carrying scrap iron to Japan from the west coast. This was either the latter part of 1937 or early 1938.

Kenneth Sano, who had just arrived from the west coast, reported in the meeting that he was instructed by the California State committee of the Communist Party to get us to picket the Japanese scrap-iron ships in the port of Honolulu.

Those present were John Reinecke; Kenneth Sano; Koichi Imori; James Cooley; myself; A. Q. Leong, now Mrs. Bob McElrath; and a couple of others I do not remember. I am not so sure whether Rachel Saiki was at that meeting or not.

The group decided we were not organized well enough to pull the stunt, so we did not go ahead with it.

In the Kulouou Beach home of a friend of Bartlett's one or two meetings were held. One of the things we discussed was the question of Edward Berman. Berman got so terribly shaken up after the strikes, especially after the IBU folded up, that the group felt he was totally useless and would be a bad influence on other Communists, so the group at this meeting decided to send him over to San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of meeting was this?

Mr. KAWANO. This was a Communist meeting of the water-front section, attended also by some individuals belonging to the uptown group.

The group at this meeting decided to send Berman to San Francisco so that he would be able to regain his self-control. Kamahoahoa and I were instructed by the group to issue Berman a membership book in the ILWU, and to give him a visitor's permit from Honolulu so that he would be able to work in San Francisco as a longshoreman.

We did that, and Berman went to San Francisco. After a few months he came back and applied for a transfer into the San Francisco local. We offered him that, too, and never heard from Berman since that time until the 1946 election campaign.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was chairman of the meeting which took that action?

Mr. KAWANO. I was chairman of that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. And who was chairman of the meeting that was held at the time the picketing of the ships was discussed?

Mr. KAWANO. I don't recall. It may have been John Reinecke.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you held this meeting relating to Berman, was the Communist Party organized to the extent of having a chairman, secretary-treasurer, and so forth?

Mr. KAWANO. No. At that time the group just got together, and from time to time the group just nominated who they felt should be chairman of that particular meeting. So it was very logical that I could be chairman of one meeting and I could not be chairman of another meeting, but usually I was chairman because most of the guys who met with me were longshoremen.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this period up to 1939 how was the collection of dues handled?

Mr. KAWANO. The collection of dues in the early part was done by James Cooley, until the latter part of 1937 or early part of 1938. I think it was around the middle of 1938 or latter part of 1938 when Kimoto officially set up this group and set up the offices of secretary, educational director, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. So Kimoto was the one who set up the organization of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know when he did that?

Mr. KAWANO. No; but it must have been sometime during the middle or latter part of 1938. If you check back on William Kamaka's testimony, I am pretty sure he stated that he collected dues for the group, and I think the time he started collecting dues for the group is the time we officially started paying dues into that group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time attend a Communist Party school?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the circumstances under which that occurred?

Mr. KAWANO. Around the latter part of the summer of 1938, Jack Kimoto urged me to consider going to San Francisco to study labor economics at one of the special schools conducted by the Communist Party of the U. S. A. in California. He told me that it was only a 5-week course, and that I could learn a lot, and I would be able to do a more effective job of organizing after I returned from school.

He told me the party had already discussed this matter, and that if I agreed to go the Communist Party would take care of everything for me, including making money available for my family's support while I was away.

I was further urged by Bartlett, Reinecke, Hall, and William Kamaka to go and not to worry about my family.

So in September or October 1938 I went over and attended the 5-week Communist training school in San Francisco. The address of that school was 121 Haight Street, San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. It was the headquarters of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

I stayed at Karl Yoneda's apartment on Grove Street in San Francisco, and walked daily from there to the school at Communist Party headquarters, located at that time at 121 Haight Street.

My first day was consumed almost entirely by lectures. They issued scratch pads, notebooks, Communist pamphlets, and so on.

Betty Gannett, chief instructor at that time, told me—not only me, but the group of students there—that the Communist Party did not expect us to learn all about communism in the short time we attended school, but she said that she expected us to learn how to study communism and how to put the Communist theory into practice, especially in the labor unions and other mass organizations.

There were over 60 students present at that time, and they came from all over the country, but mainly from northern and southern California.

Some of those whose names I recall are Bob Guske; Richard Lyndon, who is now one of the top officers of local 6, ILWU.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell his last name?

Mr. KAWANO. L-y-n-d-o-n. And a boy by the name of Masao from Los Angeles who came up with a fellow named Fujii, who was editor of *Do-Ho*; and also Allan Yates.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Allan Yates' wife's name?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. Her name was Oleta O'Connor, so Oleta O'Connor Yates is her correct name.

Regular instructors were Betty Gannett, Oleta O'Connor, and Louise Todd; and others who pitched in were Jules Carson, William Schneiderman, Walter Lambert, and others.

When I reached Honolulu after the school was over, on January 1, 1939, on the *President Cleveland*, the union had just lost a National Labor Relations Board election about a week or so before at McCabe, and the boys had already made up their minds to close the door of the union office and forget about the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you refer to McCabe, what do you mean?

Mr. KAWANO. McCabe, Hamilton & Renny Stevedore Co., Ltd., in Honolulu.

When a group of the boys boarded the ship as a reception committee for me, they so informed me, Ben Kahaawinui and William Kamaka were among those that greeted me.

However, to my surprise I saw that there were more people there that night than the actual number which voted for the union in the election of a week or so before.

I arranged for a meeting with them at the union hall, and meantime talked the matter over with Fred Kamahoahoa, and urged him to continue organizing. Kamahoahoa told me that if I kept on organizing he would continue to assist me.

So before the scheduled date of the meeting, I got hold of Piilani, Kamahoahoa, David Kamaka, John Elias, John Akiu, Samson Chang, Robert Naniolo, and a few other active members of the union and urged them to assist me in organizing the water front.

They agreed, and from that time on we started a more strenuous organizing campaign on the water front. Leaflets began to flow down the water front; pier-hand meetings began popping up along the water front daily; and personal contacts during the evenings by myself and to some extent assisted by William Halm began to bear fruit. The boys on the water front began to believe that the union was O. K., and that they wouldn't mind joining the union if the union had the majority of the workers in the union, and if it could protect them from discrimination in the event they were found by the bosses to be members of the union.

We knew it was impossible to get the majority of them into the union, so instead of recruiting them directly into the union, we combed the water front to get the following pledges:

(1) I will authorize the union to represent me on all matters relating to wages, working conditions, etc.

(2) I will vote for the union in the event of a NLRB election to determine the correct collective-bargaining representative.

(3) In the event the union wins the election, I will join the union, pay its dues and assessments, attend its meetings, live up to its constitution and bylaws, and become a good union member.

Our organizing efforts began to bear fruit. Longshoremen began signing pledge cards, more than they ever did up to this time.

The employers noticed we were making headway, and they started out on a plan to crack down on the workers.

They decided to institute the 40-hour plan on the water front. They succeeded in getting some of the gangs to go for the plan, but meanwhile we did everything we could to expose the plan. The employers were unable to get all the gangs to accept the 40-hour plan. Many gangs opposed it.

Finally the company decided to shove it down the throats of the longshoremen, and one day the company posted a notice on the company's bulletin board stating that whether the workers liked it or not, the company was putting the 40-hour plan into effect as of now.

Meanwhile we kept on preaching on the water front that the 40-hour plan was chiseling off the workers' wages from them.

After a couple of weeks of work under the 40-hour plan, the boys found we were right; then they started to sign up the union pledges more willingly, and it was not long after this that we started signing up the workers at McCabe also. Later that year we petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election that determined the ILWU as the exclusive collective-bargaining representative in Castle & Cooke; McCabe; and later also in Contractors' Pacific Naval Air Base; then later in American Stevedores, Ltd.

All through these days I attended Communist Party meetings regularly until we were ordered to disband in 1941 after Pearl Harbor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you occupied any other position in the Communist Party prior to 1941 than that you have already described?

Mr. KAWANO. No, but I must say this much, that prior to 1941 there was no official membership in the executive board, but Kimoto, who was acting as liaison between the uptown and downtown groups, used to be chairman of a group that met once in a while, composed of individuals selected by Kimoto, from either of these groups, uptown or downtown.

Mr. WALTER. May I ask when the NLRB election was held to which you referred?

Mr. KAWANO. That was held the latter part of 1939.

Mr. WALTER. 1939?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right, the one that was lost.

Mr. WALTER. I am talking about the one at which it was determined the ILWU was exclusive bargaining agent.

Mr. KAWANO. 1941.

Mr. WALTER. How did Hall muscle his way in the union then?

Mr. KAWANO. He was not in the union then.

Mr. WALTER. He was not?

Mr. KAWANO. No. He was out of the picture.

Mr. TAVENNER. I meant to ask you another question about the school in California. Were you the first member of the Communist Party from the Territory of Hawaii who attended that school?

Mr. KAWANO. I was made to understand I was the first one who attended that school from Hawaii.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who else attended from Hawaii at a later time?

Mr. KAWANO. The following year, 1939, Ichiro Izuka and Jack Hall also attended a Communist Party school in California. They went from Honolulu. Robert McElrath also attended the school, from California, but by using Hawaii's credit.

Mr. VELDE. How about Freeman?

Mr. KAWANO. He was not in the picture at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you will proceed, please.

Mr. KAWANO. Not very long after December 7, 1941, I attended a meeting. This is the one I am talking about, not a branch meeting, but a meeting called specially by the liaison man, Jack Kimoto.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is a meeting of Communist Party members?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes, a few from uptown, a few from downtown, selected by Kimoto.

At this meeting we discussed an order from the Communist Party headquarters in San Francisco, brought by couriers Fitzgerald and Walter Stack, both members of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Water Tenders Union, to disband the Communist Party of Hawaii and discontinue further activities of the Communist Party until further notice.

Kimoto and Hall objected, and argued that there was no reason for the Communist Party in Hawaii to disband, especially when the Communist Party on the mainland would continue to operate.

This meeting was attended by Kimoto, Hall, Reinecke, A. Q. Leong, Robert McElrath, Stack, Fitzgerald, and myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Fitzgerald's first name?

Mr. KAWANO. I don't remember his first name. I know he made a name for himself when they had this organizing drive, I believe in 1935, on the west coast, in Standard Oil tankers, and a few people got in jail for some kind of thing they had in Modesto. He was identified as a Modesto boy at that time. That is about all I knew about him.

The group decided to disband as ordered, but they also made it clear that they disapproved of the order, and that they appealed their case to the national committee of the Communist Party in New York to have the San Francisco State headquarters order to disband revoked. But there was nothing done by the national office in New York, so there were no official activities of the Communist Party in Hawaii during the war.

However, occasionally the group used to meet, sometimes at Hall's place, sometimes at Reinecke's, sometimes at the Fujimotos', and sometimes at the Hyuns', and at the McElraths'.

Mr. MOULDER. May I interrupt at this point? Do you have any personal knowledge as to the reason they were requesting the Communist Party in Hawaii to disband at that particular time?

Mr. KAWANO. According to the information brought over by the couriers, their reason was that—you see, just a few months before that the Communist Party slogan was that the "Yanks were not coming" to this war, advocating that we fight the idea of sending soldiers to Europe to fight. But after Hitler moved into Russia in June of 1941, then they changed their tone.

Anyhow, when this message was brought, they stated that because Hawaii was such an important outpost for defense they wanted us to cooperate so the Army and Navy would have no suspicion of communism in Hawaii. That is why they told us they didn't want us to do anything.

Mr. WALTER. We will have to take a recess to answer the quorum call. We will recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 12:10 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. WALTER. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

TESTIMONY OF JACK H. KAWANO—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. You were asked a question about the reason for the Communist Party directive that the Communist Party of the Territory of Hawaii be disbanded. Was there a difference of opinion among the leaders in Hawaii on that subject?

Mr. KAWANO. There was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe that to the committee?

Mr. KAWANO. Jack Kimoto and Jack Hall argued very strenuously with these two couriers, and they took a position something like this, that they didn't see any reason why the California State committee of the Communist Party should instruct the Hawaii Communist Party to disband, especially in view of the fact that all the other Communist Party groups on the mainland, including the California State committee, was operating full blast without closing down.

Mr. TAVENNER. What argument, then, did the couriers use to combat the argument of Kimoto and Hall?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, they in the beginning stated that because Hawaii was a very important defense outpost, and because they didn't want any Army or Navy or Government authorities to suspect that there was going to be any retarding or sabotaging of defense programs, they felt it was better for us to close down. But there was

argument against it by Hall and Kimoto, and they finally ended up by saying after all it was a decision of the California State committee that the Hawaii party disband, and therefore they were just carrying out that order from the California State committee to Hawaii.

In the end the group decided to go along with that order from California. In the meantime they thought they were going to appeal the case to New York.

Mr. WALTER. Did they appeal it to New York?

Mr. KAWANO. I do not recall, but at that meeting Kimoto and Hall definitely stated they were going to take steps to appeal that decision to New York and have it repealed by New York. I have not heard anything about the matter after that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated that a man by the name of Stack was one of the two couriers who brought this directive to Hawaii.

Mr. KAWANO. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know his first name?

Mr. KAWANO. Walter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee anything about Walter Stack?

Mr. KAWANO. I don't know very much about him except when I was attending that 5-week training course in California he was an occasional visitor there, and from what I knew he was at that time one of the officers of the firemen's union. He used to run for the position called patrolman on the water front for that union, and from what I recollect he had been running for that office as a Communist and getting elected year after year.

Mr. TAVENNER. How often do you think your group met to discuss this question of disbanding the Communist Party in Hawaii during the period of the war?

Mr. KAWANO. That was the only meeting I remember. After that I think Kimoto took it upon himself to notify the two groups that were existing at that time about the order, and that is all that I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were directed to disband were you given any orders as to what to do with Communist Party literature?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And records?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that?

Mr. KAWANO. The instructions were that we were to gather up all Communist Party material, everything we had relating to the Communist Party, and destroy it by either burning it or burying it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was done about that?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, I think they decided to send instructions down the line to have everybody gather his material and burn it at home, and those people who lived in communities where it would be difficult for them to burn material, to gather the material and to have it picked up by John Reinecke or Peter Hyun, and they would haul it to a place where nobody would know and bury it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that done?

Mr. KAWANO. Whether that was done, I don't know. I burned my material, so I didn't pass anything on to these people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether this man Walter Stack ever attended a school in Russia?

Mr. KAWANO. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee what the union activities were during the period of the war?

Mr. KAWANO. Before that I would like to interject just a little bit.

During those days, after the party in Hawaii was ordered to disband and the party disbanded, there were no official Communist Party meetings, yet occasionally some of the people used to gather at some of the homes.

It was one of these unofficial meetings at McElrath's place which prompted Kimoto, Izuka, and Alice Hyun to go to the former Hyun farm to dig up some Communist literature the Hyuns had buried when they were instructed to burn or destroy. The record shows that sometime early in 1945 they were caught digging Communist literature by agents of the FBI.

Mr. TAVENNER. And photographs of that were introduced in the course of the hearings by the subcommittee in Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. They were.

Late in 1943 I was informed by Bert Nakano that the workers in the plantations were desperately wanting a union, and that the few malihini—that means newcomers—AFL organizers operating on the big island were making some progress in organizing the plantation workers into the AFL, and that because they were splitting up the workers in various craft unions, and were not accepting into membership those that the employers considered agricultural workers, they were doing more harm than good for the workers in the plantations.

Therefore, he urged me to come over to investigate the matter and see whether there was something we could do for the boys in the plantations.

So, upon this invitation, I made a trip to the big island to check on the matter. Being a former big-island boy, also a plantation employee, I knew a few plantations and the people in the plantations.

I visited with some of them, talked to them, and decided to organize the plantations. Since Hall had some experience in the McBride and Makawili plantations on Kauai, I went over to see Hall for some pointers.

Hall laughed at me, and told me that I was taking on the impossible. He said that if there was anyone in the Territory who could organize the plantations, it was he and nobody else, meaning Jack Hall and nobody else. And he said it was impossible to organize them, especially at this time.

I told him that I wasn't fooling, and that I was going to try it anyhow. It was then that he advised me to go and see Arthur Rutledge and try to work out a joint organizing committee. I asked him whether Arthur Rutledge could be trusted. Hall stated that he trusted Rutledge implicitly.

I next called a meeting of the executive board of the ILWU, and talked the members into approving the organizing drive in the plantations. They approved. Later we carried this program into the membership meeting and got approval to go ahead from them also.

Then I made another trip to Hilo, this time with Rutledge. We went there mainly to set up a joint AFL-CIO organizing committee. His bartenders' union and our longshore union were to put in the same amount of money in a joint AFL-CIO organizing fund to start

the ball rolling. However, when it came time to put up the money Rutledge reneged and pulled out of the deal.

Meantime, he got into a fight with Jack Owens' gang, who were organizing the big island plantations separately, and so both Rutledge and Owens' boys found no time to organize in the plantations. We were forced to carry the burden by ourselves, and did the best we could.

The job our longshore organizing committee was able to do is today a matter of record. Without our campaign in 1944 there might still not be any union in the sugar plantations of the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. TAVENNER. The unions in the sugar plantations were organized separately from the ILWU?

Mr. KAWANO. They were not originally organized to become members of the ILWU. I might tell you a little story in connection with that. As I stated, I went to see Hall for some pointers in organizing the plantation workers, because in 1938-39 Hall and Berman and a few others, Ben Shear and so on, were able to organize a couple plantations, namely, McBride, and to some extent they had luck in organizing Makawili plantation. They were being organized into the United Cannery, Agricultural, Textile, and Allied Workers of America, not at that time part of the CIO.

In this new organizing drive I tried to get UCATAWA interested in sending an investigator to check on it and see if they were willing to spend some money, but UCATAWA never seemed to be interested and didn't seem to care.

We tried to get the international officers of the ILWU interested, namely, Bridges and others, but they were never interested, and it was not until they got the definite news that we were signing thousands of plantation workers that they got interested.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, it was not until you had been successful in organizing the sugar plantations that Bridges took an interest in having the sugar plantation workers come into the ILWU?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct. I might say that the original amount of money put in the organizing drive was not too much, but we were the only ones that put it in. It cost us approximately \$8,000 to start the ball rolling. That came from the local long-shoremen alone.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you completed the organization of the sugar plantations, did you endeavor to get them in some union?

Mr. KAWANO. No; but just before we started this drive we tried to get the UCATAWA to become interested in organizing, but they were not. I might also state that when Rutledge and I went to the big island to investigate the possibilities of organizing, we had a gentlemen's agreement, or whatever you might call it, that anything that we organized on the waterfront and in the sugar plantations we would recommend them to join the CIO, whether ILWU or anything else; but that anything between the water front and the sugar plantations would be part of the AFL—it didn't make any difference to us if it was carpenters' union or anything else. That was the agreement between Rutledge and myself at first. But Rutledge reneged on the deal and didn't put up any money, and got into a fight with Jack Owens' gang, and we decided to do the organizational work by ourselves.

Mr. TAVENNER. Give us a little more in detail the circumstances under which Bridges made the decision finally to admit the sugar plantations to the ILWU.

Mr. KAWANO. This is what happened. We printed pledge cards. I think they were printed under the name of our local. We could not use the name of the international because up to that time the international was not interested. We printed thousands of pledge cards under the name of our local, inviting these people to become members of our local.

We signed up thousands of plantation workers, and in that process we signed up a lot of other workers too, including railroad employees.

After we got them signed, I made a special call to San Francisco and talked to Bridges. We took up the case first of the Hawaiian Consolidated Railroad employees. We had about 150 signed up. I told Bridges that here we had a bunch of railroad workers signed up, that they were already part of this union as far as the records were concerned, but I asked whether he approved that these railroad workers be members of the ILWU or not; and I said the constitutions of the AFL and CIO had no room for these employees.

He said, "Well, since you have got them signed up, we will take take them into the ILWU."

Then I said, "Will you take the sugar workers too in the ILWU?"

He said, "Well, since you have warehouses in sugar plantations, we will take them also."

Instead of these people signing up and becoming members of longshoremen locals, each plantation was given a special local number and chartered by Bridges.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the pineapple workers organized in the same way?

Mr. KAWANO. Somewhat in the same way, but also in a different way. After we signed a lot of these people in the union, and after we turned over the operation to the international to administer the work of these many locals during 1944 when they engaged Jack Hall to be the administrator of the international's business in the islands, our organizing business was not too aggressive. It kind of slowed down.

In the meantime, Hall and these other people were advocating that we organize the pineapple industry also.

Since Rutledge and some of these other people saw the work done by us in the sugar plantations they thought they might as well try to do the same thing in the pineapple industry.

From what I recollect, the pineapple industry was organized originally by three forces. One was our group. I think we had the smallest group, 25 percent or so. Rutledge had 30 or 35 percent organized. And McElrath had about 40 percent. He had the biggest number.

So there were three unions organizing the pineapple industry, each claiming jurisdiction over the entire pineapple industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what were those unions?

Mr. KAWANO. The Drydock Workers Union, and AFL union. McElrath was the head of it.

The bartenders' union, headed by Rutledge, and AFL union; and I think he also had a card in the teamsters union.

And the ILWU.

McElrath had the largest number between the three, but because it was necessary for us to have an election to determine the correct bargaining unit, we had a big powwow. First we had a powwow with McElrath. We tried to get him to relinquish his authority to organize the pineapple workers into the small drydock union. We didn't get anywhere at first. Finally, as a result of a lot of pressure from Communists, who said he was splitting up the labor movement, and so on, McElrath decided to switch the affiliation of his drydock union from AFL to CIO. After he switched to CIO there was no problem at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. The CIO would then outvote Rutledge and his group within the AFL?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was McElrath known to you to be a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. KAWANO. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was the Communist Party that brought McElrath's union into the CIO?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were the sugar plantations organized, about what year?

Mr. KAWANO. We started an organizing drive in January 1944, and by the time Jack Hall took over around the middle of 1944, we had 60 or 70 percent of the sugar plantations completely organized, and we had organizing campaigns going on in all the rest of the plantations.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were the sugar plantations actually taken into the ILWU organization?

Mr. KAWANO. You mean the transfer?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. You have told us about the time Bridges decided to take over the sugar plantations.

Mr. KAWANO. That was around the middle of 1944, when they put Jack Hall on their payroll.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete the organization of the pineapple industry?

Mr. KAWANO. I think that took place about 2 years afterward, about 1946, a year and a half or so afterward.

Mr. TAVENNER. In addition to the Communist Party being instrumental in bringing this section of the AFL into your union, what other activities was the Communist Party interested in in the labor field?

Mr. KAWANO. I don't know what you mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. We had evidence in our hearings relating to the labor canteen.

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent was the Communist Party interested in the organization of the labor canteen?

Mr. KAWANO. I can't say that the Communist Party itself was interested, because we were directed to disband, and the labor canteen was formed after we disbanded. However, as I stated before, there were a few individuals, who were members of the Communist Party, getting together informally now and then.

The idea of starting a labor canteen was introduced by Alice Hyun. This idea was picked up by Hall, Kimoto, McElrath, Reinecke, and others. Later this became an unofficial Communist program, to

organize the labor canteen. They also instructed the officers of the union, including myself, to (1) make sizable contributions to the labor canteen; (2) get our union membership fully involved in the activities of the Honolulu labor canteen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it instructed the officers of the union, including yourself, to do those things?

Mr. KAWANO. Kimoto and Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what connection did they have with the Communist Party at the time it was disbanded?

Mr. KAWANO. At the time it was disbanded Kimoto was party organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Jack Hall?

Mr. KAWANO. No official title.

Mr. TAVENNER. But Jack Hall was a member, was he not?

Mr. KAWANO. He was a member; that is right. When they instructed me and other officers of the union to do those things, neither Kimoto nor Hall had any title because the party was disbanded; but before it was disbanded Kimoto was party organizer. Jack Hall was regional director of ILWU.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the circumstances under which the Communist Party was reactivated in the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. Just before or right after VJ-day, Kimoto received a message from the Communist Party headquarters in San Francisco to reorganize and reactivate the Communist Party of Hawaii.

The first of these reactivation meetings was held on the grass near the apron of Kawalo Basin. This is just about the same place we met when we discussed the question of disbanding.

Mr. VELDE. Were you instructed by the couriers originally that this was to be a permanent disbandment?

Mr. KAWANO. No, just to disband operations of the Communist Party, don't pay dues or don't do anything until further notice.

At this first meeting Jack Kimoto, Jack Hall, John Reinecke, and two or three others were present. After the whole gang agreed to comply with the order, Hall and Kimoto suggested that we go through the list of old memberships and call out from it those whom we thought were all right, and recruit them back into the Communist Party. They suggested also that since the union was bigger now and had a lot more members, we make a list of active members of the union and recruit as many of them as possible into the Communist Party.

Hall and Kimoto suggested that we hold another meeting, this time with an enlarged committee.

The second meeting was held a week or two later, with the following present: Jack Hall, Jack Kimoto, Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, John Reinecke, A. Q. McElrath; Robert McElrath; Rachel Saiki, myself, and possibly two or three others.

At this meeting we decided to put on a big recruiting drive. Some of the possible recruits listed were Harry Shigemitsu; Yoroku Fukuda; Ricardo Labez, otherwise known as Rick Labez—

Mr. TAVENNER. May I interrupt you at this point? Did these people subsequently become members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Incidentally, those I mentioned so far I understood were approached but none of them joined.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think you should state that as you give their names. If they did not come into the Communist Party, make it plain.

Mr. KAWANO. Y. Morimoto from Kauai, Yasuki Arakaki from big island.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did those two come into the party?

Mr. KAWANO. They did.

Bert Nakano from big island, who also came in.

Carl Fukumoto from big island came in.

Castner Ogawa and Richard Shigemitsu, who were studying communism under Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, were already theoretical Communists.

Major Okada came in.

Joseph Kealalio came in.

Levi Kealoha came in.

And a flock of others.

At that meeting we also discussed ways and means to approach these individuals whose names were listed.

We decided that Communist Party members should volunteer to talk to these individuals personally. This was considered best because then the person approached could not turn around and say, "This guy is a Communist and he recruited me." He could not prove it because it would be one man's opinion or word against another.

We decided to assign able Communists to talk to some of these possible recruits personally.

Mr. TAVENNER. In selecting the method to approach these persons, such as the method by which it would be one man's word against other, was legal advice sought on that subject?

Mr. KAWANO. No. That was something that Jack Hall and Kimoto felt was a pretty good method.

Another method of approach was to get the mailing addresses from the union records. Eileen Fujimoto was office secretary of the union, and it was felt to be a good idea to have her go through the records of the union and get the names of possible recruits and send them Communist literature by mail.

Also, after we sent these people Communist literature, to assign certain Communist Party members to stick around them and lay low for any comments, and report to the party organizer.

Charles and Eileen Fujimoto were assigned, in the absence of a party organizer, to contact and recruit into the Communist Party all those who were reported to be ready for recruiting.

As a result of this concentrated drive many old faces returned, and many new members were recruited into the party. It was during this time that I talked Joseph Kealalio into joining the Communist Party, and he joined. I talked to him in Ala-Moana Park near the beach. Joseph Kealalio is the one presently heading the longshoremen local in the islands.

Just about this time or a little later, I remember attending another meeting, this time at the Puunui home of Ichiro Izuka. The topics discussed were: (1) reorganization of the structure of the Communist Party units according to the constitution of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; (2) discussion of the Jacques Duclos article against Earl Browder and the Communist Party, U.S.A.

This meeting was attended by Kimoto, Mr. and Mrs. Fujimoto, Mr. and Mrs. McElrath, Jack Hall, myself, Izuka, John Elias, John Reinecke, and there may have been a few others.

At this meeting Kimoto stated he had complete faith in Earl Browder's judgment, and that he was a smart man and knew what he was doing, therefore we should not be too hasty in condemning him, but should lay low and see how the matter was settled nationally. Browder lost out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that back on the mainland the Communist Political Association was organized in May 1944 and continued until October 1945? Are you acquainted with that organization?

Mr. KAWANO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. So far as you know, the Communist Political Association was not formed in the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. No; it was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. But when you began reactivating, you began reactivating as the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. Did you know that the Duclos letter was the Communist Party line in the United States at that time?

Mr. KAWANO. No. The discussion ran this way: Duclos' letter criticized Browder's position. Duclos pointed out some of the passages from the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which stated something about a dictatorship of the proletariat, and according to Browder's position at that time history has changed now and that idea is out of the window.

Mr. VELDE. What is puzzling me, some members at this meeting must have known they were to follow the Duclos party line?

Mr. KAWANO. No; they did not.

Mr. VELDE. Then it seems to me they would naturally follow the Browder line.

Mr. KAWANO. No. At that time there were people who thought that the Duclos letter was the correct party line, and some thought Browder's position was the correct party line.

Mr. VELDE. This was before the American Communists, the mainland Communists, decided to follow the Duclos letter?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Later, when Jim Freeman, the party organizer, was sent to Hawaii from San Francisco, Charles and Eileen Fujimoto were assigned to work under the direction of Jim Freeman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know when Jim Freeman was sent to the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. Not exactly. I think it was 1947. It may have been the latter part of 1946. I am pretty sure he was there in 1947.

In various meetings of the Communist Party we found we ran into a lot of problems because we signed a lot of people in the Communist Party who had no idea what the Communist Party meant, and we needed somebody to educate them and to recruit new people into the party. We needed a good live-wire person to do that particular work for the party in Hawaii. We requested the party in San Francisco to send such a person, and the party sent Freeman.

After Freeman's arrival the party stepped up its activities even more.

Freeman organized the first Communist Party convention that was held in Kokokahi, Kailua, in 1946-47. No; I remember definitely that the first convention was held in 1946, and I do not believe Jim Freeman was there at that time. I remember it was 1946 because I was elected to serve on the executive board by this meeting in 1946. So that statement is not correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the executive committee first established?

Mr. KAWANO. Previously there had been a semblance of an executive committee operating. Kimoto had been selecting a few from the uptown group and a few from the downtown group and meeting with them, but they had not been elected. It was not until after this convention in June or July 1946 that there were official members of the board.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, there were no persons elected to that position until 1946?

Mr. KAWANO. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were elected in 1946?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. As I recall I was elected in 1946 to serve in 1946-47, and in 1947 I was voted out, and in 1948 I was voted in again to serve from 1948 to 1949.

Jim Freeman organized various shindigs, the purpose of which was to sell Communist literature, to recruit new members, and to speed up party activities in fields other than strictly Communist activities, such as pushing subscriptions for the People's World; pushing subscriptions for the Honolulu Record; soliciting funds for the Reinecke hearings; and, a little later, encouraging membership in the HCLC.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Another activity was introducing certain uptown Communists to Communists in the ILWU, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state at this time the names of all persons who served on the executive board with you?

Mr. KAWANO. In the first group there were Jack Hall, Jack Kimoto, John Reinecke, A. Q. McElrath, and myself. That was in 1946-47. I believe when John Reinecke and I were put off they put in Jack Hall, Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, Jim Freeman, Jack Kimoto, Joseph Palomino, and A. Q. McElrath. At first there were five, but later on they made it eight.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you and John Reinecke were put off the executive board?

Mr. KAWANO. John Reinecke was thought not to have the guts to represent the working people. I was thrown out because they claimed I was losing interest and did not read enough Communist literature to serve on an important board like that.

After that one year was over, in the summer of 1948 they had another convention. This time I was informed by Jack Hall that I was elevated to serve on the executive board again. That was the 1948-49 term. At that time Jack Hall said they criticized the previous executive board, composed of Freeman and other people, because they should have more union people serving on the Communist Party's executive board.

From what I understand, at that time Jack Hall was again a member of the executive board; and I was a member of the executive

board; John Reinecke was a member of the executive board; Charles and Eileen Fujimoto were members of the executive board; Jack Kimoto was a member; and Ariyoshi, editor of the Honolulu Record.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name of the man from the Honolulu Record?

Mr. KAWANO. Koji Ariyoshi.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold?

Mr. KAWANO. Editor of the Honolulu Record.

Mr. TAVENNER. And chief stockholder?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. He used to attend the University of Hawaii. While attending the University of Hawaii he used to write occasionally for the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and during the summer he used to work on the water front. That is how I got acquainted with him. He was not a Communist at that time.

Later he joined the union, and after he joined the union I fixed it so that he would be able to work on the water front during the summer, and he attended a journalism school somewhere in Georgia. Then he came back to work on the water front in Frisco, and while there the war broke out and he was hauled in to Camp Manzanar with the rest, including Carl Yoneda. He was one of those people that volunteered in the Army and later was sent over to serve in China, and from what I understand he worked as a liaison officer between the United States Intelligence Service and the Chinese Communists. And also a well-known Japanese Communist in China at that time, named Tokuda.

After the war was over he came to New York and tried to write a book in New York. By the time he came back to New York we received word he was already a Communist. We heard news he was a Communist, and he was a local boy, so we felt he would be a logical guy to head up a newspaper that the Communist Party was interested in formulating. That is how we got him to come to Hawaii.

Mr. TAVENNER. You got him to come to Hawaii for this particular purpose?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. "We" means who?

Mr. KAWANO. Jack Hall, John Reinecke, Jack Kimoto, people like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, Communists?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who wrote him to come over?

Mr. KAWANO. I don't know who wrote the invitation for him to come over, but he had always been in constant touch with Dr. John Reinecke, so it was not a problem for somebody in this group to communicate with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. And as a result of the request he came to Hawaii?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you knew him as a member of the Communist Party from serving on the executive board with him?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee more about the efforts of the Communist Party to advance its cause through publications such as the Honolulu Record?

Mr. KAWANO. Before going into that, I would like to go into the one started previous to that, called the Hawaii Star.

Kimoto presented this idea, which was first discussed in the Communist Party executive board meetings. It took several meetings of the executive board before it finally decided to take the leading role in organizing the Hawaii Star. Hall, Freeman, McElrath, Reinecke, Palomino, and the rest made sure that the control of the paper would be in the hands of the Communists, so that the paper could be controlled by the Communist Party.

It was organized in early 1947. Jack Kimoto was president, I was vice president, and a man named Aroshiro was treasurer. Jack Kimoto and I were the two from the Communist set-up, and Aroshiro—he was an alien—I don't know where he came from.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. I don't think he was. He never attended any meetings.

The meeting that finally decided to get the Hawaii Star into operation was held at one of the Quonset hut buildings near the school street entrance of the Kalihiuka Road.

Those who were present at that initial meeting were Jack Kimoto; myself; this old man that I just talked about, Aroshio, and his son, Naeshiro; Yasuki Arakaki, a Communist; Charles and Eileen Fujimoto; Saburo Fujisaki, Communist; Carl Fukumoto, Communist; Robert Kunimura, Communist; Y. Morimoto, Communist; Bert Nakano, I think at that time a Communist; Castner Ogawa; Jack Osakoda, he was not a Communist at that time; Major Okada, Communist; Jenji Omuro; Richard Shigemitsu; Shigeo Takemoto, I am not so sure; Thomas Yagi, Communist at that time. Most of these people that I named were hustled by myself to attend this meeting.

After we met we found that we had the majority of the stock under our control, so we went ahead with the organization of the Hawaii Star.

At a meeting held one night at Kapiolani Park, close to the bandstand, Kimoto reported the progress made at the meeting of the Hawaii Star, who its officers were, and so on.

The board decided to give it full support. They instructed us to do all in our power to solicit ads and subscriptions for the Hawaii Star. They also instructed us to pass resolutions and motions in our union meetings, commending the birth of this really progressive newspaper, and wherever we could, to make sizable contributions to it.

As a result, at one of the Territorial ILWU Council meetings—I happened to be chairman of that council—the Communist members pushed the above program, and this meeting ended by granting a printing press that was owned by the Territorial ILWU Council to the Hawaii Star free of charge. This particular motion I believe was made by Robert Mookini, president of the pineapple union, a non-Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you secure Robert Mookini, a non-Communist to sponsor that?

Mr. KAWANO. When Communists got together and talk about the Hawaii Star, they talk about how to make the paper as much as possible communistic. But when we go in a union meeting we don't speak the same language. We speak strictly progressive. That is the basis on which we got Bob Mookini to make that motion.

After a few months of operation, a lot of complaints were raised by some quarters of the ILWU membership regarding the Hawaii Star. They felt that they were paying too much for too little, and that if we were to continue support of such a paper, its Japanese section should be discontinued, and it should be turned into an English-section, bi-weekly newspaper.

So the Communist Party, through Kimoto, tried to negotiate with the alien Japanese stockholders to turn it into an English-section newspaper, but instead met strong opposition by them, so that the Communist Party executive board, at one of its meetings, decided to instruct its members to sell out their Hawaii Star stock and transfer it into the Honolulu Record. This meeting was held at Joe Palomino's house in 1948.

Then came the Honolulu Record. The first issue of the Honolulu Record came out on August 8, 1948. Sample copies of the paper were printed about July 1948. This time, again, the party instructed its members to get the ILWU behind the Honolulu Record, and urge the union to buy subscriptions and ads. Every cell of the Communist Party was instructed to designate someone to handle the ads and subscriptions in the union for both the People's World and the Honolulu Record. Since the McCabe and the Castle & Cooke were both waterfront cells, we designated Richard Shigemitsu for this purpose.

Koji Ariyoshi became the editor of this paper. He was assisted by Jack Kimoto and Charles Fujimoto.

As they did with the Hawaii Star, the Honolulu Record got all the help from the ILWU through the Communists in it. However, it was a lot easier to hustle subscriptions and ads for this paper, because it was not concentrated for the alien Japanese and could be accepted by all who read the English language.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other activities did the Communist Party resort to?

Mr. KAWANO. Politics. Around 1946 Labor's Political Action Committee, sometimes called ILWU PAC, was organized. It was originated first in the executive board meetings of the Communist Party. It started out by involving CIO, AFL, and independent unions participating. They also allowed any individual who might want to participate in it an opportunity to do so.

They set up a machinery to endorse candidates and campaign for them, and they set up legislative committees, organized and conducted rallies, and various other activities. In short, it was the beginning of an independent third-party movement in Hawaii.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state that the ILWU PAC was originated first in the executive board meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to know the names of the executive board members who took part in the formulation of that organization.

Mr. KAWANO. I think it was mainly Jack Hall, myself, Kimoto, Reinecke, and possibly McElrath. I am not so sure. Those were the ones that first discussed it. Then after they decided to go ahead with it, they tried to involve all the unions, AFL and CIO, to start the ball rolling. Labor's PAC was not CIO PAC, because we tried to get CIO and AFL to join, and we called it Labor's PAC to start off, but it didn't remain that long because of conflict between Jack Hall and Rutledge.

In the election campaign of 1946 the PAC was able to use its influence, and it helped to elect 18 of the 30 members of the House of Representatives. They didn't make so good in the Senate and other races, however, because they were unable to maintain harmonious working relations, particularly between the AFL and the ILWU, and because there were many within the ILWU who preferred to play their own types of politics, they lost control of the situation.

In 1947, in the organization of the Territorial house of representatives, the Republicans took over, and only those Democrats who supported the Republicans were in on the pie, and the rest of the Democrats were left holding the bag. The influence of the PAC disappeared when the house was organized.

I might explain here that when the PAC campaign went over to put in 18 of their candidates as against 12 not supported by PAC, that seems to be a big majority; but at that time PAC supported both Democrats and Republicans, so among the 18 were some Democrats and some Republicans.

Mr. VELDE. What was their technique in supporting candidates?

Mr. KAWANO. It depended on the deals the politicians could work out with the officers, myself included, and what kind of impression they would make when talking to the general membership.

In the party set-up, there were 15 Democrats and 15 Republicans. So both parties called a party caucus to organize the house, and it was impossible for either of those parties to organize the house as they wanted, so some compromise was made by Republicans and Democrats.

When the house was organized, committees were set up, and there was no place for the idea, so it went out the window.

Mr. TAVENNER. What idea went out the window?

Mr. KAWANO. The independent political action movement.

Mr. Velde, did you ask me some of the methods used in helping those candidates?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, some of the general ideas. I imagine the candidates not supported were not allowed to speak at your meetings?

Mr. KAWANO. No; they were not. Those we supported, we passed cards out for them; we had election workers to campaign for them on election day around the booths; we had people going from door to door campaigning for them.

Mr. TAVENNER. You use the word "we."

Mr. KAWANO. The bulk of the job was done by PAC. A lot of the people who participated in PAC had no idea what influence the Communist Party had.

Mr. VELDE. Do you think the PAC had a great effect on the election?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. When you play an independent role you are in a very good position to use your support as a balance of power. Let's say there is a race between this gentleman here and that woman there for an important office. Both are very popular and very strong. Maybe she is able to pull half a million votes, and he might be able to pull about the same amount. In a case like that, the few votes we might have would mean the election or defeat of a candidate, depending on which one we supported.

In 1948 there was a tremendous amount of discussion among Communists regarding the failure of PAC in Territorial politics, and in early 1948, at Jack Hall's Manoa home, the executive board of the

Communist Party called an enlarged committee meeting to discuss the question of politics.

This is not a regular executive board meeting. It is an enlarged executive board meeting, so there would be many people attending, and there might even be a few non-Communists attending. Party members felt pretty safe in having non-Communists come in, because the subject we were going to talk about was only on politics.

After some discussion at that meeting, it was observed —

(1) That the Democratic Party was very weak and could be infiltrated very easily.

(2) With enough infiltration, we could control the Democratic Party of Hawaii.

(3) In the organization of the house of representatives in the 1947 legislative session the PAC did not have any legal rights to call party caucuses and issue directives to elected candidates.

(4) But we could do this if we controlled the Democratic Party of Hawaii.

And so they decided that—

(1) The Communist Party, through the ILWU and other organizations, will join the Democratic Party.

(2) Take over leadership of it by getting the majority of convention delegates elected who were Communists, Communist sympathizers, or at least union men.

(3) Elect majority of this type of people.

Mr. VELDE. I don't want to appear to be arguing with you or discussing politics at great length, but I am wondering, since the Republicans were in power, whether there was any discussion among members of the Communist Party of taking over the Republican Party? If they could do that, then they would be more powerful.

Mr. KAWANO. Maybe you are correct, but this is the way the Communists observed, that they had enough votes they could swing either way, Democratic or Republican, and looking at both, the Republicans were hard to infiltrate and the Democrats could very easily be infiltrated, so they felt that moving into the Democratic Party would be a much easier job.

Mr. VELDE. There was no attempt to infiltrate in the Republican Party?

Mr. KAWANO. No; not as a party decision.

The enlarged executive board meeting in Jack Hall's Manoa home was timed when the general executive board of sugar, pineapple, miscellaneous, and longshore met in Honolulu.

Of those who met at Jack Hall's home were Jack Hall, David Thompson, McEuen¹

Mr. TAVENNER. What other position did McEuen have?

Mr. KAWANO. Codirector of Labor's PAC.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was his occupation?

Mr. KAWANO. His professional occupation was in a newspaper set-up. [Continuing:] Robert McElrath, radio announcer, ILWU program; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Fujimoto; Myer C. Symonds, attorney for ILWU; Robert Kunimura, from the island of Kauai; Y. Morimoto, from the island of Kauai; Tony Kunimura, brother of Robert; Peggy

¹ This refers to Marshall I. McEuen, whose testimony which was taken by a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in Honolulu, T. H., on April 15, 1950, appears in Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii—Part 2, pp. 1671-1676.

Uesugi, working for ILWU at that time; Yukio Abe, secretary and treasurer of local 136 at that time; Joe Blurr, who is now head of the longshoremen local in Hawaii; Fred Kamahoahoa; John Elias, Jr.; Tadashi Ogawa; Major Okada; Newton Miyagi; Edamatsu, I don't know his first name; Fujisaki; Arakaki, from Big Island; Thomas Yagi; Elias Domingo, from Big Island; Henry Epstein; Wilfred Oka—at that time he was not employed, but was working for the Democratic Party as secretary of the party.

Eileen and Charles Fujimoto. I named them before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Wilfred Oka, then secretary of the Democratic Party, a Communist at that time?

Mr. KAWANO. I made a mistake. He was secretary of the Oahu County committee of the Democratic Party, and he was a Communist at that time.

Kimoto; Ariyoshi, Joe Palomino, member of the executive board, Jim Freeman; Ernest Arena, executive secretary, miscellaneous union; Eddie Hong; Ruth and Doris Ozaki; and a flock of others I cannot now remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you go back over the list, please, and state the names of those who were not members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Those who were not members?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. As I understand, this was not a meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. This was a meeting of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was a meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes, but there could have been someone attending that meeting who did not suspect it to be a meeting of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you go back over the list and designate those who were not members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Myer C. Symonds. I am not going to say he is a Communist, but at the same time I can't say he is not a Communist. I have no evidence to prove he is a Communist.

Henry Epstein. I have no evidence to prove he is a Communist, but I am not going to say he is not a Communist.

They are all Communists with the exception of Myer C. Symonds and Henry Epstein. I am not so sure whether they are or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the circumstances under which these two persons, who are not known to you to be members of the Communist Party, were invited to this Communist Party meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. They were invited, I believe, by Jack Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Federico Lorenzo?

Mr. KAWANO. I know him; not too well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was present at this meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. I am not so sure. He might have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you stated there were a number of others there?

Mr. KAWANO. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whom you cannot now remember?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Frank Silva was present?

Mr. KAWANO. I don't recall. I don't believe he was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the business conducted at that meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. They discussed ways and means of taking over the Democratic Party of Hawaii. One of the things discussed was that attention should be given to taking over the leadership of the precincts, and getting elected to the county committee and the Territorial central committee, and being elected delegates to the Democratic convention.

To make sure that this program was carried out in the most effective manner, a political commission of the Communist Party of Hawaii was selected at one of the executive board meetings I did not attend. This political commission was composed of James Freeman, Jack Hall, and myself; and later changed to Jack Hall, myself, and Wilfred Oka.

The change between Oka and Freeman was because they felt that Wilfred Oka was much closer to political problems than was Freeman, since he was doing some of the organizing work in the Democratic Party, and was in a much better position to give more accurate reports on current political problems than was Freeman, and would be in better position to make decisions for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wilfred Oka was secretary of the Oahu County Democratic Committee at the time of the hearings of the subcommittee in Hawaii, was he not?

Mr. KAWANO. No. I think at that time he was already out. By the time the hearings came on, I think he was already out. This fellow Danny Inouye took Oka's place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Oka had been elected, however, to the convention of the preceding year?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. But not reelected as secretary of the county committee?

Mr. KAWANO. He was reelected as a county committee member from his precinct, but he did not get enough votes in the county committee to be reelected as secretary of the county committee.

Through the machinery of the ILWU, maneuvered by Jack Hall, I was assigned to tour the islands to sell this program to members of the ILWU, particularly in places where the membership was opposed.

The ILWU election propaganda for the 1948 elections proved that the union, with very slight exceptions, was solidly behind this program.

I believe that the influence of the Communist Party in the Democratic Party of Hawaii is very strong, and if it were not for the few liberals in the Democratic Party who are strongly anti-Communist but at the same time command the respect of many laboring people and union members, and who are fighting Communists in the Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Hawaii would be controlled by the Communist Party.

These few liberals are having a tough time trying to keep the control of the Democratic Party out of the hands of people who are influenced by Communists.

As far as politics goes, although originally, to get the ball rolling, I went along with these people. I mentioned a few liberals; I joined these people and pulled enough strings to get Wilfred Oka removed by putting up a better candidate and defeating him. I believe that

the split between Oka's group and myself was well known. This happened before the hearings in 1950.

In a meeting at Kimoto's home, the party discussed the selection of delegates to the CMU—Committee for Maritime Unity—convention. I believe this was in 1946, right after the war, when the maritime unions, namely, the CIO maritime unions, including the National Maritime Union, Marine Cooks and Stewards, and I believe also Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Water Tenders, got together and tried to work out a method of approaching the employers on the question of negotiations for their contract, and in Hawaii we were supposed to send a delegate from Honolulu to this convention. A lot of people wanted to go to the convention, so when some of the people found out seven or eight Communists wanted to put their names on the ballot, Kimoto took it upon himself to call the Communists together and have the question of who would be the delegate from Honolulu decided.

This meeting was supposed to be a joint longshoremen meeting of the two groups. It was a Communist meeting. There were many who wanted to be delegates to the CMU convention, however, the group decided that (1) Richard Shigemitsu be selected to go, (2) all other Communists withdraw from the race, and (3) all Communists campaign on the water front for the election of Richard Shigemitsu. Shigemitsu went to the CMU convention.

Those present at this meeting, to the best of my knowledge, were Jack Kimoto, James Freeman, Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, John Reinecke, Koji Ariyoshi, Joe Palomino, Joseph Kealoha, Yukio Abe, Frederick Kamahoa, John Elias, Jr., Levi Kealoha, Julian Napunua, Ben Kahaawinui, myself, and maybe one or two others.

Here I would like to identify some of the people who met in this group who were not longshoremen, but outsiders.

Kimoto was an outsider.

Mr. TAVENNER. By "outsider" you mean a member of the Communist Party, but not a member of the union?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

James Freeman was an outsider.

Charles and Eileen Fujimoto were outsiders.

John Reinecke was an outsider.

Koji Ariyoshi was an outsider.

Joe Palomino was an outsider.

All the rest were members of the longshoremen's union.

Another meeting was held at John Reinecke's Pahoehoe Avenue home in October or November 1946. Those present were Ichiro Izuka, John Reinecke, Jack Kimoto, Jack Hall, A. Q. McElrath, Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, and possibly Ralph Vossbrink.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe this is the first time you have mentioned Ralph Vossbrink. Do you know Ralph Vossbrink to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has he recently been a candidate for election to any office?

Mr. KAWANO. Oh, yes. In the 1947 election when I was dumped from the executive board I missed one name in naming the eight members. John Reinecke and I were put off the board, and Ralph Vossbrink was one of the guys who took our places.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know if Ralph Vossbrink now holds any political office?

Mr. KAWANO. No; I don't.

Mr. VELDE. What does he do at the present time?

Mr. KAWANO. He is now working as a representative of some small miscellaneous unions. He is organizing taxi drivers and is representing them. He has 300 or 400 taxi drivers organized.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he holds any position in the Democratic organization?

Mr. KAWANO. No; he does not. Ralph Vossbrink, I think, was at Jack Hall's place when we talked about moving in and taking over the Democratic Party. If he was not a delegate to the Democratic convention, I remember definitely he was on the convention floor, and he walked out of the convention when the convention was about half over. He walked away just about the time Berman did. We gave Berman a hot time, so Berman walked out of the convention, and at the same time Vossbrink walked out of the convention. He told some people there that the Communist Party could have taken over the Democratic convention, but they didn't, so he was completely dissatisfied with the results and he threw up his hands and walked out.

At the meeting at John Reinecke's home in October or November 1946, Izuka requested that the party change its stand from supporting Joseph Farrington to William Borthwick for Delegate to Congress. That was between the primary and general election. Farrington is a Republican, and in that election of 1946 a Democrat by the name of William Borthwick opposed him. In the primary we supported Joseph Farrington. Izuka was dissatisfied as a Communist, and asked us to switch from Farrington over to Borthwick.

It was assumed that if Izuka was able to convince the majority of those present to decide to support Bill Borthwick instead of Farrington, then Hall, McElrath, and myself were duty bound as Communists to see that the L-PAC or ILWU-PAC reverse its position and support William Borthwick instead of Joseph Farrington in the race for Delegate to Congress. Izuka did not succeed.

Mr. WALTER. How did Mr. Farrington get the endorsement of this Communist crowd?

Mr. KAWANO. It was not exactly a Communist crowd. You see, as far as Farrington and Borthwick were concerned, they don't know the maneuvering in the back of the labor unions. All they see is the front of the labor unions. Both Farrington and Borthwick put in a request to the unions to support them; and, judging the two of them, the union decided to support Farrington. When the union decided to support Farrington some of the Communists got dissatisfied, but some of the Communists were in favor of Farrington at that time. I was in favor of Farrington, and so was Jack Hall, but Izuka's crowd was not satisfied. At this meeting Izuka handed in his resignation and walked out.

Mr. VELDE. Did the Communist Party itself ever attempt to run a candidate on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. KAWANO. There have been talks of that, but it has never been attempted, and I don't think it ever will be attempted.

Mr. VELDE. For any office at all?

Mr. KAWANO. No. But they have been talking about some courageous campaign on the west coast.

Mr. VELDE. I am just referring to Hawaii. I was wondering if the Communist Party of Hawaii realized they were not a political organization.

Mr. KAWANO. Well, the closest we come to it is Harriet Bouslog. She was a Communist, but she didn't run as a Communist. I don't know whether the evidence I have is substantial enough for me to say she is a Communist, but later on I will make the record clear what I know about her activities.

There was a combination educational and recruiting meeting held at Vossbrink's home on Pacific Heights Road in 1947 or 1948. Those present were Jack Hall, Ernest Arena, Edward Hong, Oshiro, Fujimoto, Miyagi, Castner Ogawa, Major Okada, Edametsu, Yukio Abe, myself, Levi Kealoha, Joe Kealahio, Ralph Vossbrink, Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, Jack Kimoto, John Reinecke, Koji Ariyoshi, Jim Freeman, and a few others I cannot remember.

After lectures by Kimoto, Freeman, and Fujimoto, the group decided (1) to concentrate recruiting among members of the sugar and pineapple unions, and (2) to concentrate recruiting particularly among Filipinos and Portuguese.

They found that there were quite a few Japanese, quite a few Hawaiians, but very little Filipinos and very little Portuguese; and therefore we should concentrate our recruiting drive particularly among Filipinos and Portuguese, and particularly in the pineapple industry. Another thing they put emphasis on was that we should try to recruit more women into the Communist Party.

In 1948—this was after they moved from the old hall—there was a meeting held to discuss the question of the Reinecke case, but no decision was made, and the same group continued the meeting later on at some other place. I remember a meeting at the Manoa home of Attorney Myer C. Symonds to discuss the strategy of the Reinecke case. He stated that if we wanted he would be willing to represent the Reineckes at the hearing, but that he felt it was going to be a very complicated case, and therefore he thought that we should try to get someone like Gladstein from San Francisco down to handle the case for the Reineckes.

After some discussion, the group agreed to get Gladstein for the case.

Those present at this meeting were Jack Hall, myself, Symonds, Joe Palomino, Mr. and Mrs. Fujimoto, John Reinecke, Ariyoshi, Jim Freeman, and Jack Kimoto.

Mr. TAVENNER. Myer C. Symonds was present at this meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was at his home?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he was employed as counsel, and that was the reason for his appearance?

Mr. KAWANO. I don't know if he was employed as counsel at that time. He was counsel for ILWU. I think they tried to engage him for the Reinecke case, but there was some disagreement as to whether we should go ahead with the Reinecke case through the hearing or not participate in the hearing at all. He himself was not so sure as to whether he would like the case. He called these people together and

told them at this meeting he would be willing to serve and represent the Reineckes if we wanted him to, but he advised us it might be a better idea if we engaged someone like Gladstein, who had more experience than he had.

So after listening to him we decided to have Richard Gladstein come down and take over the case for the Reineckes.

All the people present at this meeting were Communists with the exception of Myer C. Symonds. I still don't know if he was a Communist or not, but the subject discussed here was not a Communist subject.

In 1948 there was considerable discussion about the party coming out in the open.

Ever since Charles and Eileen Fujimoto came back after their leadership training in San Francisco, the Freemans and the Fujimotos have been agitating about having the Communist Party of Hawaii come out in the open.

There were many who opposed that idea, but most of them were quiet about it because they knew that the program to come out in the open was supported by the San Francisco headquarters, and they did not want to be labeled by the superleftists as phonies. Therefore, over the objection of a few, they were able to get the executive board and all of the Communist Party units on record favoring the Communist Party of Hawaii eventually coming out in the open.

Then the Fujimotos and the Freemans, assisted by Palomino, Kimoto, and Ariyoshi, pushed the party executive board to agree that the time for the Communist Party of Hawaii to come out in the open was now.

They met opposition from Hall, McElrath, and myself. As a result of this sharp disagreement, and in order to pressure some of us into agreeing with them, the executive board held several meetings with specially invited guests. The following are some of the meetings in which I participated.

There is one meeting I remember held at Foster Gardens, a small park. Present at this meeting were Jack Kimoto, Jim Freeman, Koji Ariyoshi, Mr. and Mrs. Fujimoto, Jack Hall, myself, Mr. and Mrs. McElrath, Harriet Bouslog, and J. L. Robertson.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was this meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. You see, there had been a lot of meetings up to this point where the members of the executive board did not agree unanimously that the party should come out in the open now.

Mr. VELDE. Did Harriet Bouslog engage in the discussion as though she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. She did.

Mr. VELDE. Do you remember if she opposed the idea?

Mr. KAWANO. Hall, McElrath, and myself, together with Robertson, opposed the idea of coming out in the open. The rest favored coming out, including Harriet Bouslog. The meeting lasted 4 or 5 hours, but there was no meeting of minds.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent did Harriet Bouslog take part in the discussions about the matter?

Mr. KAWANO. The strongest arguments came from Freeman, the two Fujimotos, Palomino, and Ariyoshi; and Harriet Bouslog was in there too, pitching in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the circumstances under which she attended the meeting? She was not a member of the executive board, was she?

Mr. KAWANO. No; she was not, and up to that point I did not know she was a Communist, although listening to her talking led me to believe she might be a Communist, but this was a special meeting of the Communist Party.

Week after week the Communist Party executive board met, and could not come to any unanimous decision, and so to help the members of the executive board convince the opposition one way or another, she was invited by the chairman, who happened to be at that time either Jim Freeman or Charles Fujimoto. So she attended at the invitation of the chairman. The same goes for J. R. Robertson.

Mr. TAVENNER. J. R. Robertson was a member of the Communist Party, was he not?

Mr. KAWANO. I did not know until this meeting. I never saw him in any Communist Party meeting before this meeting.

Mr. VELDE. Was he a lawyer?

Mr. KAWANO. He is the first vice president of ILWU, the second man under Harry Bridges.

Mr. VELDE. Those two, Robertson and Bouslog, were the only two present at the Foster Gardens and Hansuma Bay meetings who were not members of the executive board of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the only purpose of holding the meetings was to discuss a strictly Communist Party matter?

Mr. KAWANO. Whether the party should come out in the open or not.

The meeting at Hansuma Bay was held 1 week after the one at Foster Gardens. Those present were Jack Kimoto, Jim Freeman, Ariyoshi, Palomino, Mr. and Mrs. Fujimoto, Jack Hall, myself, A. Q. McElrath, J. R. Robertson, and Harriet Bouslog.

At this meeting Robertson took the position that although he agreed that the Communist Party of Hawaii should come out in the open, the very fact that the executive board could not get out a unanimous decision on an important matter like this was proof enough to him that the Communist Party of Hawaii was not yet ready to come out in the open, and therefore the board members should forget about coming out in the open for the time being.

That was the position taken by J. R. Robertson.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was a compromise position from the one he took at the first meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. The matter was not settled there. This Hansuma Bay meeting ended with no meeting of minds on both sides.

Mr. VELDE. Will you explain what you meant, and what other members of the executive board meant, by "coming out in the open"?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, as you know, in quite a few of the labor unions you see now and then guys recognized by the press and by members of the union as members of the Communist Party. Take San Francisco, a guy by the name of Walter Stack, he was known as a Communist. He campaigned for his position as patrolman for the firemen's union as a Communist, and he used to get in office.

Take a present west-coast party organizer, the guy who came over to Honolulu; I forget his name now; he is also one. They take pride in being identified as Communists.

In Hawaii there was nobody identified as a Communist, particularly in the labor unions. So the move here was to get the Communist Party of Hawaii to come out in the open, but that was not for the party to expose all their membership.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Owens just mentioned you had no Communist Party headquarters as such in Hawaii.

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct. And the plan also was to select two or three people from labor unions to come out and be identified as Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they discuss at that time who the persons should be who should come out publicly as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. I didn't get the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they discuss at that time the names of those who should come out publicly as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Some were discussed. For instance, Charles Fujimoto's name was mentioned as one who should come out in the open; Jack Hall's name was mentioned; my name was mentioned; Richard Shigemitsu's name was mentioned; Levi Kealoha's name was mentioned; and a few others.

The plan was to have at least one from each union and one from each island come out and be identified as a member of the Communist Party. When they select these people they are very careful to select somebody who has a deep-rooted strength, so that the membership won't take it too bad and dump him.

There was another meeting I attended at the Makiki home of the Fujimotos.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before you go to that meeting, did Harriet Bouslog take an active part in the meetings?

Mr. KAWANO. In the Foster Gardens and Hanauma Bay meetings she did, and her position was the same throughout, that we should come out in the open.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she enter into a factual discussion of the matter, or did she just sit back and wait until she was asked for legal advice?

Mr. KAWANO. Oh, no, she entered into the discussion. One of the positions she took was that it was for the benefit of the union for the Communist Party to come out in the open, because when things are not known, all the attacks are taken by the ILWU, but if the Communist Party comes out in the open, the present attacks on ILWU could be diverted to the Communist Party members or to the Communist Party instead of the ILWU, so that it would be better for the ILWU and also better for the Communist Party.

I was ordered one day during my working hours to go to the Fujimoto home in Makiki to give an interview to one Archie Brown, a California Communist. He is an open Communist member of ILWU at San Francisco.

I went and met him there. Charlie and Eileen were home. When I went in, the three of them, Charlie, Eileen, and Brown, huddled in a closed room for about 10 minutes; then Charlie and Eileen walked out and asked me to go in.

Brown didn't pull any punches. He started right out and wanted to know why we were opposed to the Communist Party of Hawaii coming out in the open. He said the fact the Communist Party was not in the open was forcing the ILWU into a very difficult defensive position.

He said that the position I was taking on the executive board was phony, and that he didn't think much of those who took the same position. He said he had talked to many people since he had come there, and that all of them were good dependable Communists, but he found that only a few handfuls of us were retarding the progress of the Communist movement in the Territory.

He said that there was going to be an enlarged board meeting, a semi-Communist Party convention, very shortly to decide this matter once and for all, and he asked me to promise that I would live up to the decision made by the majority of those that met.

I told him I would think it over, and I walked out of that meeting.

Then comes the enlarged executive board meeting referred to. The meeting was held at Ewa Beach. It was, in fact, a special convention to decide the question of the Communist Party of Hawaii coming out in the open.

Those present were Wilfred Oka, Castner Ogawa, Major Okada, Mr. and Mrs. McElrath, Jack Hall, Dave Thompson, John Reinecke, Koji Ariyoshi, Joe Palomino, Ben Kahaawinui, Yukio Abe, Newton Miyagi, Edametsu, Rachel Saiki, Yasuki Arakaki, Thomas Yagi, Onuro, Robert Kurimura, Ralph Vossbrink, Joseph Kealalio, Levi Kealoha, Wallace Kamihara, Julian Napuunoa, and several others I do not remember.

This group voted that the party come out in the open. But here, again, in the selection of the date there was sharp conflict. It ended up by McElrath and Archie Brown calling each other names which eventually developed in the ousting of McElrath by his own cell. At a later date the board expelled McElrath.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the date of that meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. This was around July 1948. The exact date I cannot say. It was on a Sunday around July 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you state whether or not the persons whom you named as being present were all members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. All members of the Communist Party.

There was another meeting in Santa Maria Hall in San Francisco. The Santa Maria Hall is a second-story meeting hall in the ILWU building. It was not too long after the Ewa Beach meeting in October that I attended another meeting for the purpose of discussing the subject of coming out in the open. Those present at this meeting were Miss Celeste Strack, Archie Brown, Louis Goldblatt, J. R. Robertson, and myself.

I argued against coming out in the open again at this meeting; and at the end of the meeting Brown and Strack, who represented the Communist Party California State Committee, told me that if I was able to convince the majority of the Communist Party executive board members in Honolulu, and particularly the Freemans and the Fujimotos, they had no objections.

When I returned to Hawaii I talked to Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, Ariyoshi, and Freeman separately; and when I found it was useless I told them I was going to quit.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean, that you were going to quit?

Mr. KAWANO. That I was not going to participate in any more Communist Party activities.

The next meeting I attended——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Tell us what you know about Louis Goldblatt.

Mr. KAWANO. He is secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. I have no knowledge as to whether he is a member of the Communist Party or not, but he was the guy who arranged for the meeting in Santa Maria Hall. He called Celeste Strack and Archie Brown and J. R. Robertson to the meeting, and the subject under discussion was still the question of coming out in the open.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this meeting called at your request?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was your purpose in calling the meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. My idea was to convince Goldblatt and Robertson so that they would assist me in arguing against Strack and Brown, and beat them. What happened, the meeting ended by their saying that if I was able to convince the majority of the Communist Party executive board members in Honolulu they would go along.

In 1949 I remember attending a meeting at Jack Kimoto's home. This meeting took place in the latter part of 1948 or very early in 1949.

I think it was Jim Freeman who read a letter from the Communist Party headquarters in San Francisco. That letter explained that the officers of the ILWU were having a bad time from the ACTU gang—American Catholic Trade Union—and that if we did not watch out the ACTU might be able to capture the coming ILWU convention that was coming up in April 1949; and that if this happened, the control and influence that the Communist Party had over the ILWU would be broken. That letter urged us to do all we could to stack the convention with (1) delegates who were Communists from Hawaii, (2) delegates who could be controlled by Communists.

At this meeting the group decided to follow instructions. They campaigned for Communists, and a lot of them got elected. However, there were a lot of non-Communists elected also. So at the caucus before the convention in San Francisco the Hawaiian delegates met and decided to select Jack Hall and myself to be cochairmen of the Hawaiian delegates, making it impossible for the delegates to vote on matters as they personally saw fit. This trick was decided on at a meeting between Hall, Fujimoto, and Freeman.

Those who were present at this meeting were Charles and Eileen Fujimoto, Jim Freeman, Koji Ariyoshi, Jack Kimoto, John Reinecke, Castner Ogawa, Newton Miyagi, Edamatsu, Joseph Kealalio, Yukio Abe, Joe Palomino, Julian Napuunoo, myself, Wallace Kamikara, John Elias, Jr., and Levi Kealoha.

The next meeting was around the middle of 1949. It anticipated the sugar strike and was held at Kimoto's home. Those present were Mr. and Mrs. Fujimoto, Jim Freeman, Koji Ariyoshi, Jack Kimoto, John Reinecke, Thomas Yagi, Kunimura, Castner Ogawa, Major Okada, Newton Miyagi, Edamatsu, Joseph Kealalio, Levi Kealoha, Wallace Kamikara, Yukio Abe, Julian Napuunoo, myself, and maybe one or two others I do not remember.

When I went to the meeting it was late, and the group had already made its decision to strike in sugar. Charles Fujimoto, who acted as chairman at that meeting, started to explain the decision to me. He stated:

(1) The longshore strike has put the Big Five in a bad financial condition—Big Five, meaning American Factors, Ltd.; Castle & Cooke, Ltd.; Alexander & Baldwin; C. Brewer & Co.; and Theo H. Davies & Co.

(2) Therefore the time is ripe for a major strike in the sugar industry.

(3) Balloting in sugar plantations proved favorable, and the workers in the sugar industry are ready for a strike.

(4) A joint longshore-sugar strike now is the proper Communist strategy.

(5) The Communists, who are members of the sugar executive board, are instructed to vote and put their local on record for a strike and clear the deck for a strike, which should not take more than 1 week.

Then he asked me if there was anything I wanted to say.

I told him their plan was "haywire" and all "wet." I said that their plan, if followed, would not help but would break the union. I said:

(1) The morale of the longshoremen on strike was being kept up mainly because they were getting substantial financial assistance from the sugar workers.

(2) The boys in sugar were willing to offer financial aid to the longshore strikers, but were unwilling to go out on strike at this time.

(3) A strike in sugar will end up with no union, because I knew in many plantations more than one-half of the employees would continue working and would not come out on strike.

(4) A strike in sugar would not only break the sugar union, but would break the current longshore strike.

There was heated argument between myself and some of those that were present. However, in the end, just to satisfy me outwardly, they put the vote. I was the only one voting against the sugar strike. All the rest voted for it.

Among the sugar workers I agitated against a strike, and the strike did not materialize.

This meeting of June 1949 was the last meeting of the Communist Party of Hawaii that I attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. You began to tell us about the ILWU convention of 1949, and discussed that at some length. Was that a meeting of the ILWU as distinguished from a Communist meeting?

Mr. KAWANO. You mean about the ACTU?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. KAWANO. Well, what I was talking about there was about a meeting of an enlarged committee of the board of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes. It was either Jim Freeman or Jack Kimoto or maybe Charles Fujimoto who got instructions from San Francisco informing them that the ACTU was gaining power on the west coast and that the Communist officers would be removed if nothing was done by us from the islands. So they instructed us to stack the con-

vention with delegates who were Communists or who could be controlled by Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that the meeting of June 1949 was the last meeting of the Communist Party of Hawaii that you attended.

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that represent an absolute break between you and the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the leading or most responsible leaders in the Communist Party in Hawaii after it was reactivated in 1946?

Mr. KAWANO. The most responsible ones, I guess, were Kimoto; Jack Hall, myself, and maybe the two Fujimotos.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent did Hall, Freeman, yourself, and Kimoto use influence in directing the affairs of the union during the period of the ILWU strike, the longshoremen's strike?

Mr. KAWANO. During the beginning of that period I am not in position to say, because I was assigned as a lobbyist in the Territorial legislature, and therefore I was not serving as an official member of the strike committee.

Mr. WALTER. Who assigned you as a lobbyist?

Mr. KAWANO. The four locals of ILWU, together with the regional director. All the maneuvering and plans that took place, and all the strategy that was planned, I was not in on those things, because I was in the Territorial legislature until the last day of the legislature. I came back to the strike headquarters on the second day of the strike, and from that time on I participated.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent were Communist Party members who were not members of the ILWU taking part in the strike?

Mr. KAWANO. All I can say is what took place during the strike, because before the strike I am not in position to say. During the strike the women's committee, headed by Pearl Freeman and Eileen Fujimoto—

Mr. TAVENNER. Women's committee of what?

Mr. KAWANO. Of the Communist set-up. They took an active part. Eileen Fujimoto and Pearl Freeman tried to organize a women's auxiliary, and they maneuvered to get Pearl Freeman and Eileen Fujimoto to become ex officio members of the women's committee. Their main interest was to get the women interested in reading Communist literature and to get a good chance to recruit during the strike.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there occasions of disagreement among the leaders in the Communist Party with reference to union matters which had to be settled by any higher level?

Mr. KAWANO. Before I answer that question I would like to answer a previous question. That is this: I said I felt the longshore strike was being conducted properly and so they had nothing to add. That is true to that point, but when they tried to get the sugar people together and they put the sugar union on strike along with the longshoremen's union, that was to prolong the longshoremen's strike also, I guess, and that was the object of the meeting held at Kimoto's place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how disagreements between Hall and any of his associates in the Communist Party were settled or to be settled?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, all I can say here is what I learned from Hall. At one time near the end of 1948 or very early in 1949, Jack Hall was in such a position that he wanted to quit his job as regional director. The reason for that was that there was quite a bit of pressure being put on him by the Communists. Some of those Communists were members of unions, but a great many of the Communists were outsiders who did not belong to the unions but held very high positions in the Communist Party of Hawaii.

So he told me that he went to San Francisco with the idea of having a show-down, because Robertson, first vice president of ILWU, he said, listened to the other group more than he did to Jack Hall. And so he went to San Francisco and had a talk with the three leaders, Bridges, Goldblatt, and Robertson; and who else outside of that met with them, I don't know, but he said he had a good working arrangement worked out.

He said the plan was that he had the right to disagree with the local Communist Party, that he was an employee of the international, and any time orders from the international office did not coincide with directives of the Communist Party of Hawaii, he did not have to follow the wishes of the Communist Party of Hawaii but had to follow the directives of the international office in San Francisco.

Then he said that whenever such a problem occurred he would reject accepting the recommendation of the Communist Party of Hawaii and have that problem thrown into the hands of the international office of ILWU and the State Communist Party headquarters to settle, and if they settled amicably he would follow the decision; if it could not be settled amicably, then it would be thrown into the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York, and whatever was decided would be accepted by the State headquarters in California and the international office in San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. The final appeal, then, was to the Communist Party headquarters in New York?

Mr. KAWANO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was not a question of the national headquarters of the Communist Party agreeing with the international office of the union, but was purely the decision of the Communist national headquarters?

Mr. KAWANO. That is right. It is predetermination, I guess, on the part of the international office of the union and the State headquarters of the Communist Party to accept whatever decision might come out of the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with William H. Glazier?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes; I have known him.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold; do you know?

Mr. KAWANO. He is supposed to be the legislative representative of the ILWU whose office is stationed somewhere in Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has your association with him been such that you could state whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. No; I cannot.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned in the course of your testimony Mr. Rutledge.

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Arthur Rutledge?

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAWANO. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have also mentioned Mrs. Pearl Freeman.

Mr. KAWANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you indicated that you thought she was more powerful, possibly, than her husband, Jim Freeman?

Mr. KAWANO. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee what you base your judgment on.

Mr. KAWANO. I have had an opportunity to talk to her and to judge her personal reaction to making snap decisions on questions and the amount of things that she knew about communism. Also, I found out that she had been for a long time an active organizer for the Communist Party in Oakland, Calif., and it seems to me, from talking to her, that she gives me an idea that she would be a higher-caliber Communist than Jim Freeman himself.

And sometime ago when I talked to Archie Brown regarding Jim Freeman and his judgment, Archie Brown told me that as far as the Freemans were concerned he had no question about their judgment, that they are really good Communists, and particularly Pearl Freeman.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you consider to be the position of the Communist Party in Hawaii today? What influence does it wield and what activities does it engage in?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, this might surprise you, but from my personal judgment I feel that the Communist Party of Hawaii today is just as influential as it was 6 months ago or a year ago, and I think it is even more influential, because the influence of the Communist Party is growing. I can cite some examples, for instance.

(Representative Clyde Doyle entered hearing room.)

Mr. KAWANO (continuing). In the beginning the Communist Party's influence was practically nil. Today the influence goes pretty deep into the membership of the ILWU. The influence practically covers HCLC. I don't say all their members are Communists, but more than half of the membership of HCLC are Communists. With the few people planted in the unions, and a combination of those not in the unions, they played a very important part in the Democratic Party machinery in the islands.

For instance, right now in the Democratic Party there are two known factions. One is called the walk-out faction, and the other is called the stand-pat faction. The walk-out faction is the group that walked out of the last convention; and the stand-pat faction is the group that stayed and participated in the Democratic Party convention.

But that is only on the surface. Down below, within the stand-pat group, there are maybe 3 to 5 percent of the delegates in the stand-pat group that are Communists, but about 30 to 40 percent of the delegates are members of the ILWU, and, if not Communists, are very easily influenced by Communists.

There is a big struggle going on. The stand-pat group has pro-labor people, sympathetic to labor but strong anti-Communists. There is a struggle between those people and some people who have

no principles and are willing to play all sides against the middle, and permit themselves to be helped by Communists.

Mr. WALTER. Who heads the stand-pat group?

Mr. KAWANO. Lau Ah Chew. Lau Ah Chew is the man that operates on the basis that he doesn't care what he says or doesn't care too much about the program or policy or ideals of the Democratic Party. All he is interested in is to be able to get a certain amount of followers behind him. He felt it was a good deal for him, because all he has to do is to say what certain individuals tell him to say at the time they want him to say it.

Mr. WALTER. Is he a Communist?

Mr. KAWANO. He is not a Communist, but he allows himself to be led by the nose by Communists or people led by Communists.

The chairman of the stand-pat group today, we don't have. The group that Lau Ah Chew represents have made a switch. Lau Ah Chew was not able to get other liberal Democrats to line up, so the Communists swung their support behind somebody else, and the man they are banking on to do their bidding is Vincent Esposito.

Esposito has been very closely associated with Harriet Bouslog. He has never, to my knowledge, been a member of the Communist Party, but he is a very close associate of Harriet Bouslog.

At the last meeting of the Democratic Central Committee, the struggle for chairmanship was between Vincent Esposito and Mitsuyuki Kido, Esposito being supported by Lau Ah Chew and Mitsuyuki Kido being supported by liberal Democrats. The meeting ended up by no decision. Mitsuyuki Kido's group had more people present, but Lau Ah Chew and Esposito's group had more votes counting the proxies. Mitsuyuki Kido's group put up a challenge because the other group tried to use the proxies of Thomas Yagi, Kameo Ichimura, and Bob Murasaki; and they were challenged on the basis they were Communists and they were not entitled to have their proxies used. The Democratic Party, as it stands today, does not have any official chairman. It just goes to show the Communists don't have strength enough to run the Democratic Party, but they have strength enough to put a snag in the activities of the Democratic Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it your view that despite the disclosure of many persons as members of the Communist Party by this committee, that the Communist Party today is wielding as much or more influence in Hawaii as it was before?

Mr. KAWANO. I would say their influence is still picking up. For instance, in the Democratic Party if those people had not walked out—I am talking about those that walked out in the convention—if they had stayed back we would be able to weed out the Communists and forget about them. But that is not the case. So the fighting nucleus within the Democratic Party is so small we are having a pretty tough time.

Furthermore, as far as the influence of the two lawyers, Harriet Bouslog and Myer C. Symonds, is concerned, they have made quite a reputation for themselves in the islands. There are a lot of independent people outside of the labor movement today looking up to them as good lawyers. I have heard a lot of rumors among outsiders—because today I am one of the outsiders—and the talk among outsiders today is that if you have a case and you cannot afford to lose the case, then the lawyer to get is either Bouslog or Symonds.

because they work for a cheap fee, and work like the dickens, and usually win the case.

Mr. WALTER. Of course a contribution to that was made by the judge who leaned backwards to reach a decision that in many cases was erroneous. I agree that in some of the citations for contempt the witnesses should have been acquitted, but in many other cases there was absolutely no justification for the decision reached.

Mr. KAWANO. Another thing. A lot of people who are not Republican and not Democratic, but to some extent used to have personal friends, some had Republican friends and some Democratic friends, and whenever they had problems they used to run up to Republicans or to Democrats, today they are running to Bouslog and Symonds. Those people are not the most influential people in town, but they are influential and a lot of people are following them.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent is the Communist Party today influencing the programs of the workers and the like?

Mr. KAWANO. I cannot say because I am not a member of the Communist Party today, but if the Communist Party is operating today as it was operating when I left the party in June 1949 I would say its influence is just as strong if not stronger.

Mr. DOYLE. You have just made the statement that the influence of the Communist Party in Hawaii is as strong if not stronger today.

Mr. KAWANO. That is true.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the reason for their increase in strength, in your judgment?

Mr. KAWANO. Well, in the first place, they have the ILWU tied up. They make policies and important decisions for the ILWU. There is no question about that. They go so far as to line up candidates and campaign for those guys for office. They determine who is going to run as head of this local or head of that local. They even determine things like that. So they practically run the ILWU, not directly, but they run it. So when it comes to election time they will get ILWU backing.

They also get the backing of the HCLC. HCLC is not entirely a Communist organization. A lot of people don't carry Communist cards, but whatever decision is made by the HCLC, these people go out and follow through. In other words, some time ago when the HCLC decided to put its support back of the Reinecke case, it was not only the Communist members in HCLC that solicited funds for the Reinecke case, but members who were not Communists also solicited funds for the Reinecke case. Some of these people have a good deal of money, and it doesn't harm them to put out \$100 or \$50 apiece.

The taxi drivers organized by Ralph Vossbrink—there are about 300 or 350 organized—and Ralph being a Communist, you may be sure a certain amount of Communist activity is going on in the taxi drivers' union. The taxi drivers do a lot of talking and see a lot of people, and they get out in the precincts and make their position felt. In some of the precincts they go around soliciting signatures on petitions in the Reinecke case, and sometimes they get quite a number of petitions signed up. In 3 or 4 months' time during the Reinecke case they got ten to twelve thousand signatures.

The influence of these individuals is growing. The influence of Harriet Bouslog is growing. The influence of the paper by Jack

Kimoto is growing. Many people not Communists read the paper and they think it is a good paper, too. That is what I mean when I say the influence is increasing.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about the extent of Communist influence in educational institutions at this time?

Mr. KAWANO. I am not in position to say. I don't think it is as strong as it used to be.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything else you desire to say?

Mr. KAWANO. I have just one short statement.

I would like to have the record show that I want to offer my thanks and deep appreciation particularly to Judge Chuck Mau; Representative Mitsuyuki Kido; Mr. John A. Burns, chairman of the Oahu County Committee of the Democratic Party of Hawaii; Dr. Ernest I. Murai, who so patiently and insistently worked on me and constantly preached Americanism to me.

They worked on me without knowledge that I was a member of the Communist Party. It was they who convinced me in such a fashion that led me to the determination to break my ties with the Communist Party.

Later on other good citizens, through discussions on community problems and through friendly association, gave me further encouragement to become a good American. Among these are Capt. Sakai Takahashi, now a member of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of Honolulu, and formerly president of the famed One-Hundredth Infantry Club; Mr. Dave Benz, secretary of the Democratic Party of Hawaii; Mr. Daniel Aoki, former president of the Four Hundred and Forty-second Infantry Club; also Capt. Daniel Inouye and other good citizens.

Also, I thank your committee for granting me this opportunity to testify before you in order that I may be able to make my contribution to my country by bringing to light whatever I know about Communist activities in the Territory of Hawaii.

Thank you.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Kawano, the committee is indebted to you for coming this great distance in order to give us the benefit of your deep knowledge of the machinations of this group of international conspirators.

If more people would come forward now and aid this committee in its effort to bring to the American people an appreciation of what is going on, I don't think there would be any real danger from communism after a very short time.

I don't think the hard-shell corps is so strong as to in anywise affect our free institutions, but when they can influence the thinking and the actions of well-meaning but misguided people, then the whole movement does present a very serious menace; and you have aided us immeasurably.

It is unfortunate that you did not feel you were able to make the statement you have made today in Hawaii, because I believe others would have been encouraged to come forward, because I believe yours is the best testimony we could have gotten.

Again, in behalf of the committee and myself, I express my sincere appreciation of your contribution.

Mr. VELDE. May I add my congratulations to you, also.

Mr. DOYLE. May I explain the reason I had to leave this committee and was not here the early part of this afternoon, although I was here this morning. I am a member of the Armed Services Committee, and we were in executive session at the same hour, so it wasn't that I was not interested in what you had to say, but I had an obligation there.

Mr. WALTER. The subcommittee stands adjourned.
(Thereupon, an adjournment was taken at 5:50 p. m.)

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